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HISTORY OF THE CANDELLAS

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HISTORY OF THE CANDELLAS
OF JEJAKABHUKTI

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With a Foreword by
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Dedicated to the loving memory of
my elder sister and brother

AMIYA GHOSE

AND

SIB SADHAN BOSE

(This book is originally a thesis submitted for examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and accepted at the University of London in 1954).

FOREWORD

The political history of Northern India, after the death of the great Harsa, is very complex and difficult to follow, a tale of several kingdoms continually at war, of the fall of considerable empires, and of the rise of vassal states to independence and greatness. With the decline of the mighty Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj, early in the tenth century, India's history becomes even more complicated, as the states which emerge from the ruins of the Pratiharas increase in power, and begin to fight one with another.

Though much valuable work has been done on these medieval Hindu kingdoms, notably by Professor H. C. Ray, whose *Dynastic History of Northern India* remains a land-mark among historical studies of Hindu India, much further detailed work is necessary on the history of the individual dynasties, before the picture of India's vicissitudes between A.D. 900 and 1200 is complete, as far as it can be completed from the inadequate materials available to us. My friend and former student Dr. N. S. Bose has made a very valuable contribution to the completion of this task with his thorough and very careful research on the history of the Candella dynasty of Bundelkhand, which survived with varying fortunes for three hundred years, and played a very significant part in the life of medieval India, not only in the realm of war and politics, but also in those of literature, art, and architecture. Dr. Bose has utilized his sources with thoroughness and critical ability, and has interpreted their often inadequate data with scholarly restraint, avoiding the persistent temptation of all historians, to glorify unduly the subject of his research. Unless new evidence of major importance appears, which is very unlikely, this monograph will long remain the standard authority on the Candellas.

The student of Indian history is often tempted to look on the kingdoms which he studies, whether in triumph or defeat, as so many counters in a complicated game. It is unfortunate that, except for the kings of medieval Kashmir, who were blessed with a brilliant chronicler in Kalhana, only two rulers of pre-Muslim India, Asoka and Harsa, emerge as human beings whose characters can be traced and who, in some measure, speak to us as man to man over the centuries. The *prasastis* and king-lists, which are the chief sources for the historian of early India, do not introduce us to real men, but to so many glorified and idealized figures, rather like beautifully carved anthropomorphic chessmen. It is as though the historian has before him the fragmentary record of a game played long ago on the chessboard of Bharatvarsa, with many of the moves unrecorded, and others almost illegible, and it is for him to reconstruct the whole game from beginning to end. This, to the student who has acquired a taste for it, is a most fascinating task, so fascinating indeed that it is easy to forget that the figures he moves on his imaginary chessboard are in fact only symbols—symbols of real human beings of the past, with human loves and hates and hopes and fears. To bring his pieces to life the student must consider not only the *prasastis,* but also all the material of any kind which pertains to the period he studies. He must read its literature, both religious and secular, and he must know something of its art and architecture. The lovely sculpture of Khajuraho, though it throws no light on the political history of the Candella kings under whose patronage it was carved, is itself enough, for the imaginative student, to give some measure of flesh and blood to the period.

We shall probably never know Yasovarman and Dhanga, Kirtivarman and Paramardi, as we know, for instance, Alexander and Julius Cæsar, Nero and Marcus Aurelius ; but, after reading Dr. Bose's book, the Candella kings seem no longer mere abstractions, but men called by destiny to rule an important empire centred on the beautiful rolling hills of Bundelkhand, an empire of many millions of people, ministers and nobles, priests and scribes, warriors and merchants, and, last but not least, humble folk, peasants for the most part, on whose labours the state ultimately depended. Though chiefly concerned w[illegible] political history this book, within the limits of the space available, takes into consideration all aspects of the life of the Candella kingdom. For Dr. Bose that kingdom has been no mere abstraction, but a living concrete entity, brought to life in his mind with controlled imagination. He has succeeded, as far as the available material has permitted him in making it live for his readers. For this, in my opinion, his work is specially to be commended.

London, 1955.

A. L. BASHAM.

PREFACE

The Candellas were one of the most important dynasties of Northern India between the decline of the Pratiharas and the establishment of Moslem rule in India. Practically nothing was known of the dynasty until the publication of Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports, (Volumes II, X and XXI). The value and importance of these reports and the contribution of Cunningham can be measured by the fact that even today no study of the period is possible without the help of his Reports, and many of the conclusions made by Cunningham, from the limited material available to him, still stand today. On the basis of these Reports and other inscriptions, Smith wrote a scholarly article on the Candellas in 1908, in Volume XXXVII of the Indian Antiquary. At that time the history of the Candellas and other Rajput dynasties was still very obscure, and little of the period was known until the publication of Dr. H. C. Ray's Dynastic History of Northern India in two volumes in 1931 and 1936. The two volumes of Dr. Ray not only contributed immensely to the knowledge of the history of the dynasties, but also emphasized the vast scope of the subject and the need for further research. Naturally the chapters of Dr. Ray on the Rajput dynasties were neither exhaustive nor complete, but his work more than served its purpose,—expressed by Dr. Ray himself as, "a preparatory clearing ground" for future researches.

This is, thus, the first effort to trace the full history of the Candellas with the help of inscriptions, contemporary literary works, Moslem sources, monographs and a large number of articles with important bearing on the Candellas. Besides the political history, I have discussed the administrative system, social, cultural and religious life in the Candella kingdom in detail. I have also tried to point out the significance of the Candellas in relation to the general history of India, and the history of central and northern India in particular.

Before I conclude, I must express my gratitude to Prof. Subimal Chandra Dutta and Dr. G. C. Raychaudhury, for helping and encouraging me to take up research in this subject. I am grateful to Dr. Hardy and Dr. Williams of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, with whom I have read the Persian texts and the inscriptions. I am also thankful to Dr. J. D. M. Derrett of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Dr. A. K. Narain of Banaras University and Prof. Bholanath Dutta of Ashutosh College, Calcutta, for useful suggestions. I am particularly indebted and grateful to Prof. Nisith Ranjan Ray of St. Paul's College and Calcutta University, whose suggestions and encouragement since the inception of the work have been of great value to me. The publication of the work has also largely been possible due to the trouble and interest taken by Prof. Ray. I am also thankful to Sri Kalisankar Bose, M.A.B.T. for helping me in preparing the Index. But above all, it is impossible to express my gratitude and regards for Dr. A. L. Basham, Reader in Indian History, University of London, but for whose constant day to day guidance, help and encouragement, the work would never have been possible. He has further indebted me by writing a foreword for my book.

RAMKRISHNAPUR, NEMAI SADHAN BOSE.
HOWRAH.
16th February, 1956.

ABBREVIATIONS

AI	R. C. Majumdar, Ancient India.
ARIE	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy.
ASR	Archaeological Survey Reports.
BG	Bombay Gazetteer.
Bh. Annals	Bhandarkar Annals.
Briggs	Tarikh I Firishta, Translated by Briggs, Vol. I, London, 1827.
Bulak	Al Tarikh ul Kamil of Ibn ul Athir, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX.
CCIM	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.
CMI	Cunningham, Coins of Mediaeval India.
De	Tabaquat I Akbari of Nizamuddin, Translated by B. De, (Bibliotheca Indica), 1927 (Calcutta).
DHI	C. V. Vaidya, Downfall of Hindu India.
DHNI	H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India.
EHI	V. A. Smith, Early History of India.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
Elliot	Taj ul-Ma Athir of Hasan Nizami, Extracts translated in Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 204-243.
HDS	P. V. Kane, History of the Dharmasastras.
HIEA	J. Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.
HMHI	C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India.
HOB	R. C. Majumdar, History of Bengal.
HOK	R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest.
HOPD	D. C. Ganguly, History of the Paramara Dynasty.
IA	Indian Antiquary.
IC	Indian Culture.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind. Arch	Percy Brown, Indian Architecture.
Ind. Sc.	Stella Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS (N.S.)	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series).
JBORS	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JOIH	Journal of Indian History.
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.
JOUPHS	The Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kautilya	Kautilya's Arthasastra.
LOA	The Lay of Alha.

LTOSG	M. Nazim, The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.
Manu	Manu Smriti.
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
NIA	New Indian Antiquary.
PAIOC	Proceedings and Transactions of All India Oriental Conference.
Pb. M. Pm.	Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara.
P. Ch. Thesis	Jaidev, Prabodhacandrodaya of Krisna Misra.
RATT	A. S. Altekar, The Rashtrakutas and their Times.
Raso	Prithviraj Raso of Chand Bardai.
Raverty	Tabaqat I Nasiri, Translated by Raverty, Vol. I, London, 1881.
Reynolds	Kitab I Yamini, Translated by J. Reynolds, London, 1858.
SAI	Beni Prasad, The State in Ancient India.
SGAI	A. S. Altekar, State and Government in Ancient India.
Sukra	Sukraniti.
TCCPI	R. V. Russell, Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, Vol. IV.
Tod	J. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.

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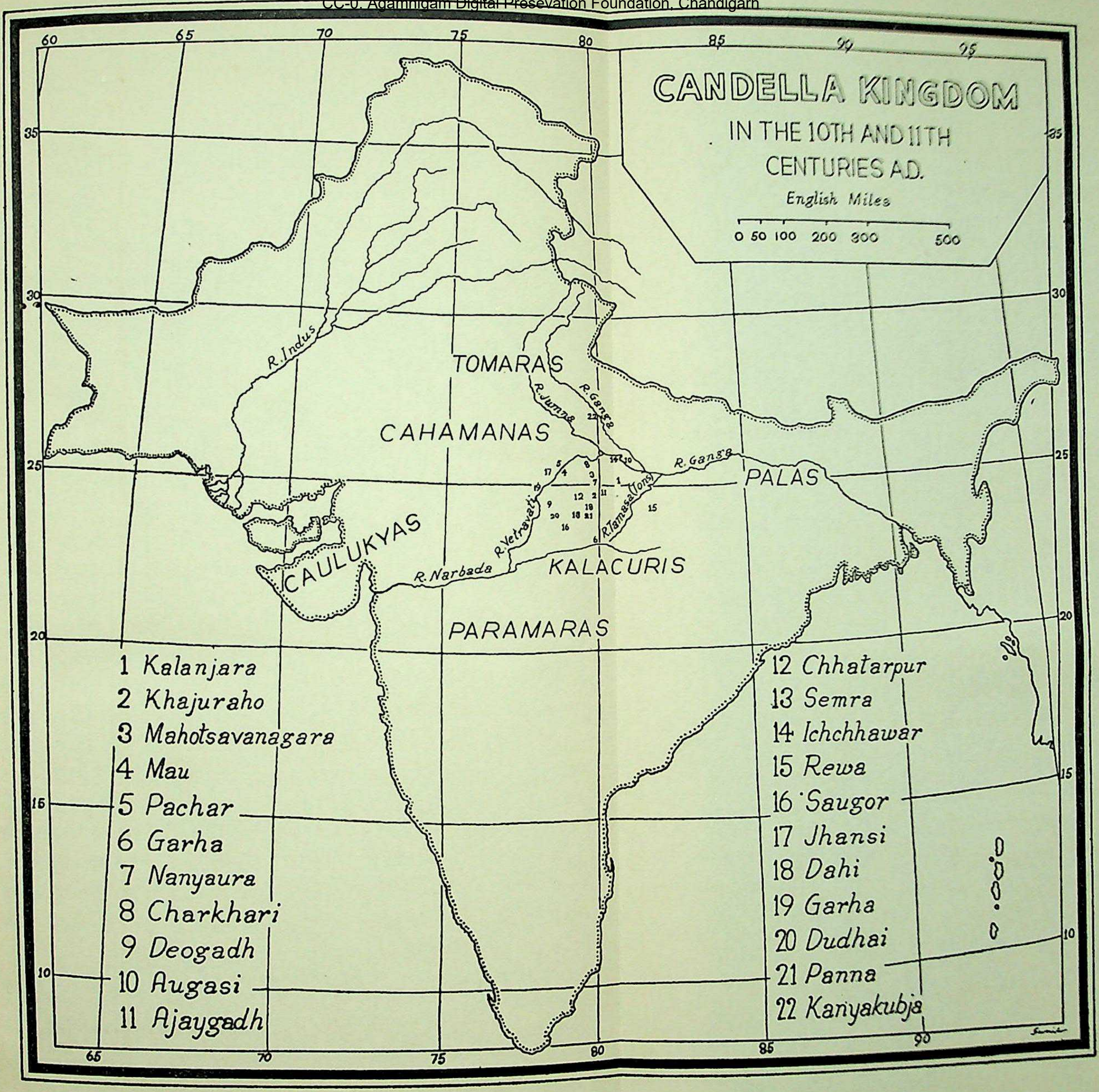

CANDELLA KINGDOM IN THE 10TH AND 11TH CENTURIES A.D.

English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 500
TOMARAS
CAHAMANAS
CAULUKYAS
KALACURIS
PARAMARAS
PALAS
R. Indus
R. Jumna
R. Ganga
R. Ganga
R. Vetravati
R. Tamasa (Tons)
R. Narbada
1 Kalanjara
2 Khajuraho
3 Mahotsavanagara
4 Mau
5 Pachar
6 Garha
7 Nanyaura
8 Charkhari
9 Deogadh
10 Augasi
11 Ajaygadh
12 Chhatarpur
13 Semra
14 Ichchhawar
15 Rewa
16 Saugor
17 Jhansi
18 Dahi
19 Garha
20 Dudhai
21 Panna
22 Kanyakubja
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CHAPTER I

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE CANDELLAS.

I. Origin :

The earliest traditions of the Candella family as recorded in their inscriptions trace its origin to the moon, implying that it was connected with the ancient lunar race of Ksatriyas. The Batesvar inscription of Paramardi states, "From the eye-lotus of Atri was born the god[1] (who is) the ornament of the beloved husband of the daughter of the lord of mountains. From him sprang this race which has shone with its bright fame, as if (decorated) with pearls. In it there were born, of pleasing conduct, the Chandratreya princes, who by their powerful massive arms have crushed the host of enemies."[2] Another Candella inscription records that Brahman from his own mind created Marichi and other sages. The most distinguished among these sages was Atri, from whose eye sprang the moon and whose son was the sage Chandratreya, the progenitor of the distinguished race called after him, which will rule the earth as long as the moon lasts.[3] Other Candella inscriptions also allude to this same story.

Traditional stories also trace the origin of the Candellas to the moon. According to one legend, originally given by the bard Chand, the Candellas were descended from Hemavati, daughter of a Brahmana Purohita of Indrajit, the Gahrwar Raja of Banaras. "Hemavati was very beautiful, and one day when she went to bathe in the Rati Talab, she was seen and embraced by Chandrama, the god of the moon, as he was preparing to return to the skies. Hemavati cursed him. "Why do you curse me?" said Chandrama, "your son will be lord of the earth, and from him will spring a thousand branches." Hemavati enquired, "How shall my dishonour be effaced when I am without a husband?" "Fear not," replied Chandrama, "your son will be born on the bank of the Karnavati River: then take him to Khajuraya, and offer him as a gift and perform a sacrifice. In Mahoba he will reign, and will become a great king. He will possess the philosopher's stone, and will turn iron into gold. On the hill of Kalanjar he will build a fort. When your son is 16 years of age you must perform a Bhanda Jag to wipe away your disgrace, and then leave Banaras to live at Kalanjar."

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[1] "the moon, borne on the head of Siva, the husband of Parvati",—EI, Vol. I, p. 212, fn. 50.

[2] EI, Vol. I, pp. 208-209, vs. 3-4.

[3] EI, Vol. I, p. 138, vs. 8-12.

According to this prophecy, Hemavati's child, like another Chandrama was born...... At 16 years of age, he killed a tiger, when Chandrama appeared to him and presented him with the philosopher's stone and taught him polity (rajnit). Then he built the fort of Kalanjar, after which he went to Kharjurpur, where he performed a sacrifice (Jag or Yajnya) to do away with his mother's shame, and built 85 temples...... Lastly, he went to Mahotsava, or Mahoba, the place of Chandrama's 'great festival', which he made his capital".[4]

There is yet another legend regarding the origin of the dynasty. According to this, the original birthplace of the Candellas was Kalanjara. "The king of that fort one day asked his family priest what was the day of the month. He answered that it was the full moon (puranmasi), whereas it was really the Amavas or the last day of the dark fortnight. When the Pandit became aware of the mistake which he had committed, he went home and fell into deep distress. When his daughter learned the cause of his sorrow, she prayed to the moon to appear at once full, and thus justify her father's words. The moon appeared, and as a reward lay with her, and when her father heard of this he expelled her from his house ; so she wandered into the jungle, and there her child was born. There a Banaphar Rajput saw her and took her home. Her father was so ashamed of the affair that he turned himself into a stone, and as his name was Mani Ram, he is now worshipped as Maniya Deva."[5] The girl's son became the founder of the dynasty.

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[4] ASR., Vol. II, pp. 445-446. For a slightly different story, see F. N. Wright's "The Chandel Thakurs", IA, Vol. II, pp. 33-34.

Modern scholars do not place any reliance upon the connection of the Candellas with the lunar race of Ksatriyas. Dr. Vincent Smith called the story of Chand a 'silly legend', the only significance of which is in its "implied admission that the pedigree of the clan required explanation, which was best attained by including it in the group of 'moon descended' Rajputs, and adding respectability by inventing a Brahman ancestress."[6] Smith thought that the Candellas were in origin a non-Aryan people, associated with the aboriginal Gonds and Bhars. For his assumption, Smith depended on the following arguments. Firstly, the Candellas are admittedly of impure descent, but have no connection with the immigrants from the north-west, such as the Hunas, who are largely represented by the 'fire descended' Rajputs, such as the Cahamanas. Secondly, the local traditions of the many villages over which the Candellas ruled, mention the Gonds, Kols, Bhils, Bhars, Chamars etc., and other low caste and outcaste peoples as the original occupiers of the land. For these reasons Smith believed that the Candellas were "a small clan who supplied the members of the ruling dynasty and much of the personnel of the local court, but who never supplanted the tribes that were in occupation of the soil previous to the rise of the dynasty". Thirdly, in Mahoba there is a temple of Maniya Deo, the tutelary deity of the Candella kings. Smith stated that the image of this deity is akin to those of the Gond deities, a fact which further supports his assumption. Lastly, the poet Chand associates Maniyagarh (traditionally the original home of the Candellas) with a Gond chieftain. Moreover, the story of the marriage of Durgavati of the Candella line with the Raja of Garha Mandla, according to Smith, shows the prevailing intercourse between the Candellas and Gonds, even as late as the 16th century. Relying on these arguments, Smith strongly suggested that the myth of the union of Hemavati with the moon was invented to conceal the fact that the Candellas really sprang from an aboriginal stock. As the Gaharwars preceded the Candellas, Smith believed that it is very likely that the Candellas are the result of crossing Gaharwar with Bhar and Gond blood. He, however, was more inclined to the view that the Candellas were originally Hinduised Gonds, but added that, as the Gonds and Bhars are said to be very closely connected, the question is of no importance.[7]

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[5] The Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. II, pp. 196-197. This legend was compiled by Crooke from notes of two school teachers of Sumerpur and Mahoba.—Ibid. p. 196, fn. 3.

[6] IA, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 136-137.

Mr. R. V. Russell supports the view of Smith and takes the Candellas to be a section of one of the indigenous tribes which rose to power. But while Smith is inclined to the view that the Candellas were originally Gonds, Russell thinks that they sprang from the aboriginal Bhars.[8] He puts forward the following arguments in support of his conclusion.

According to traditions, the Gonds came from the south and practically never penetrated into Bundelkhand, Saugor and Damoh being almost their furthest limit to the north-west. The Gonds have no tradition of their dominance in Bundelkhand and their existence is first recorded several centuries after the commencement of the Candella dynasty. Unlike the Gonds, the Bhars were famous builders. This is supported by Elliot's remarks that 'common tradition assigns to the Bhars the possession of the whole tract from Gorakhpur to Bundelkhand and Saugor, and many old stone forts, embankments and subterranean caverns in Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Allahabad, which are ascribed to them, would seem to indicate no inconsiderable advance in civilisation". Russell, on the basis of local tradition, believes that the Gaharwars with whom the Candellas are legendarily connected, were an aristocratic section of the Bhars. Smith himself said that the shrine of Maniya Deo, discovered by him in the Hamirpur district, was in a village reputed formerly to have been held by Bhars.[9] The instance of the marriage of Rani Durgavati in the 16th century, and Chand's story of Candella Raja Kirat Singh's hunting at Maniyagarh with the Gond Raja of Garha-Mandla can hardly be satisfactory evidences of a racial connection between the two tribes. Moreover, the modern Candellas are numerous in Mirzapur, which was formerly the chief seat of the Bhars, while the Gonds have never been either numerous or important in Mirzapur. Lastly, Russell suggests that, "the Candellas may have been simply a local branch of the Gaharwars, who obtained a territorial designation from Chanderi, or in some other manner, as has continually happened in the case of other clans. The Gaharwars were probably derived from the Bhars".[10]

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[7] JASB, Vol. XLVI, pt. I, pp. 229-236. I.A., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 136-137.
[8] TCCPI, Vol. IV, p. 441.

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[9] JASB, Vol. XLVI, p. 233.

[10] TCCPI, Vol. IV, pp. 440-443. W. C. Bennett says that the Candellas were descendants of a Bhar king, who got himself admitted as a Kayasth into the Hindu caste system, and whose descendants were promoted to be Chhattris, and were subsequently known as 'Chandels'—IA. Vol. I, pp. 265-266. Bennett's arguments are now quite obsolete.

The view that the Candellas are by origin Gonds or Bhars, has not remained unchallenged. Mr. C. V. Vaidya has taken strong exception to it and has vehemently criticised Smith.[11] About the legend of the origin of the Candellas, Vaidya says that such stories have been invented in India by poets and bards from Vedic times, and lead to no inference either as to the baseness or nobility of the hero's birth. These stories are to be set aside as mere fancies. Vaidya points out that the Candellas are not regarded as a clan of impure descent. Among the list of 36 Royal families mentioned by Chand, the name Chhand is among the very first. Vaidya believes that this name stands for Candella. Moreover, the name 'Chandel' is mentioned by Tod as occurring in the Kumarapala Sanskrit Mss. list incorporated by him in his table of lists giving the names of the 36 traditional Rajput families. Epigraphic evidence shows intermarriage between the Candellas and another well known Rajput dynasty.[12] Vaidya does not agree with Smith that because the Candellas originated in the midst of the Gonds they were Gonds themselves. He says that the instinct of the Rajput leads him to go into wild regions inhabited by aborigines and carve out a small kingdom if he has no room in the Aryan country. Referring to the belief of Candella zamindars of Mahoba that their family are autochthonous,[13] Vaidya says that when we know from history that the Candellas have been in Mahoba for nearly one thousand years, it is not surprising that the zamindars believe that they have been there from the beginning of time. Vaidya says "In fact the Chandels have been in Gond land at Manyagarh even from before their coming to Mahoba. When they came there we do not know; perhaps they came there during Kushan or Hun invasions of the Aryan land, viz., the Panjab and the Gangetic Valley". He rejects Smith's argument based on the tutelary deity Maniya Deo (or Devi) and says that the statement that the deity is akin to Gond deities is vague, and even if it be accepted, it does not prove that the Candellas are themselves Gonds. The story that in the 16th century Maniyagarh was associated with a Gond chief has nothing to do with the origin of the Candella dynasty. Lastly, Vaidya says it is very strange that the story of Rani Durgavati, which proves the greatness and purity of the dynasty, should be distorted by Smith to prove the exact contrary.[14]

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[11] HMHI, Vol. II, pp. 130-133.
[12] EI, Vol. I, p. 126. vs. 21.
[13] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 137.

One thing that emerges very clearly from these arguments is that the views of the scholars are largely based on legends, traditions and accounts of later writers. The arguments of both Vaidya and Smith are not without flaws. Vaidya's objection to the supposition that the myth of Hemavati's union with the moon was an attempt to conceal the low origin of the Candellas, is quite reasonable. Moreover, as pointed out by both Russell and Vaidya, the story of Kirat Singh's hunting at Maniyagarh with a Gond chieftain and Rani Durgavati's marriage are far from satisfactory evidences. Similarly, Vaidya's arguments are by no means convincing. Even if we accept his identification of 'Chhand' with Candella, it is to be remembered that Chand's epic is unreliable and very late. The Kumarapala-charita was written in the 12th century A.D., by which time the Candellas had perhaps succeeded in passing themselves off as good Ksatriyas. Another weakness of Vaidya's arguments is that he has mainly tried to counteract the view of Smith, rather than put forward evidence to support his own hypothesis that the Candellas were originally Ksatriyas and that they probably came to Mahoba during the Kusana or Huna invasions of India.

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[14] HMHI, Vol. II, pp. 130-133.

Whatever may be the weakness of Smith's arguments, his assumption that the Candellas sprang from aboriginal Gonds and Bhars seems quite feasible. Kielhorn's suspicion that the name Candratreya taken by the members of the family is a later word, which owes its origin to the desire of having a more Sanskritic name[15] supports Smith's theory. Dr. R. C. Majumdar also subscribes to Smith's view. Analysing the causes of the supremacy of the Brahmanas in the early mediaeval period, he suggests that the Candellas, though ranked as Ksatriyas, were originally aborigines and were later incorporated in Aryan society. As these kings had no glorious traditions behind them, they looked up to the Brahmanas for the social prestige and status which only the Brahmanas could give.[16]

It is also significant that both the legends connect the Gaharwars with the origin of the Candellas. Considering the close associations of the Gonds, Bhars, Gaharwars and early Candellas and especially the similarities between the Gaharwars and the Candellas as builders of embankments one cannot but suspect a relation between the two.

We are inclined to agree with Russell that the Candellas probably sprang from the Bhars and not from the Gonds. Not only are Russell's arguments more convincing, but even Smith agrees that, "it is, however, well known that the Bhars were once numerous in Banda, and the information which I have collected proves that in former times they lived in every part of the Hamirpur district, and were even found in the Jhansi district west of the Dhasan River."[17]

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[15] IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 237.

[16] AI, p. 503.

[17] JASB, Vol. XLVI, pt. I, p. 227.

The former presence of the Bhars in the Hamirpur district is attested by local names in every paragana. Of the many a few examples are: the

Probably the strongest argument in favour of this view is the similarity between the Bhars and the Candellas as great builders, which suggests that the latter continued the traditions of the former. In conclusion a note of caution should be added. As has already been said, the views on the origin of the dynasty are based on local traditions, legends and later literary works. There is really no evidence reliable enough to lead to any definite conclusion. The opinions expressed are mere hypotheses, and the possible truth may ultimately lie in Smith's suggestion that as the Gonds and the Bhars seem to have been closely akin, the Candellas may have shared both Bhar and Gond blood,[18] and, we may add, Gaharwar as well.

II. Variations of the name Candella :

The earliest inscription of the dynasty, the Khajuraho Stone inscription of Dhanga of A.D. 954, gives the name of the family as Candratreya.[19] In later inscriptions the name is found in other forms. The six short Dudhai Stone

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old name of the town of Sumerpur (in Paragana Sumerpur) is Bhorua, and in paraganas of Maudha, Panwari-Jaitpur and Rath, respectively we find localities named Bharsawan, Bharkari or Barkhari, and Bhanraura Khera and in several of these cases the evidence of the name is confirmed by that of tradition.—Ibid., pp. 227-228.

[18] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 136.

In his article on the origin of the Lunar and Solar tribes, Baden-Powell says, "Another considerable group (especially in Oudh and the North-West Provinces) escape the effort to trace them very far, because their only tangible tradition derives the existing clan from a single adventurous chief, whose name is sometimes suggestive of non-Aryan origin, but that is all. Once more, it is practically certain that several clans of respectable place in history, are really of mixed blood—the descendants of some well-connected ancestors who married a female of inferior rank, or of foreign birth, or of no rank at all." To such a clan according to Baden Powell, belongs the Candellas. He divides the Rajput tribes into five categories. (*i*) Yadubansi, (*ii*) Reputed Lunar (Candrabansi or Sombansi) (*iii*) Reputed Solar (Surajbansi) (*iv*) Agnikula, and (*v*) Unknown. Baden Powell puts the Candellas in the last category and thinks them to be of mixed origin and certainly not Sombansi—JRAS. 1899, pp. 536, 555-63.

[19] EI, Vol. I, p. 125, vs. 7.

inscriptions of Devalbdhi furnish an older form of the name of the family. In these inscriptions the family is mentioned as Candrella instead of the later Candella. Kielhorn takes the word Candrella to be a derivative, by means of the Prakrit suffix 'illa', from Candra, 'the moon', 'formed like Bhailla from Bhas'. He suspects that the name Candratreya is a later word, which owes its origin to the desire for a somewhat more Sanskritic name.[20] Most of the Candella Copper Plates begin with the praise of *Candratreya-Narendranam Vamsa,* which seems to indicate that the family was thought to have originated from two mythical progenitors Candra and Atri. In the Deogarh rock inscription of Kirtivarman, the form Camdella occurs.[21] The Banaras grant of Laksmikarna Kalacuri gives the form Candella.[22] The form Candella occurs in the Madanpur inscription of Cahamana Prithviraja III[23] Vaidya suggests that the name of the family was a gotra name, such as was regularly adopted by the Brahmanas and often by Ksatriyas also, the name being derived from the gotra ancestor Candratreya, in the same way as Parasara is the name of a Brahmin family claiming descent from Parasara.[24]

III. Site of the Candella Kingdom and Origin of the name Jejakabhukti :

Before tracing the early history and the rise of the Candellas, we must describe the region over which the dynasty ruled for about four hundred years. The tract of land that lies to the south of Jumna and north of the Vindhyas, east of the Betwa or Vetravati River, and west of the River Tons or Tamasa, is now known as Bundel-

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[20] IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-237.

[21] IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 238.

[22] EI, Vol. II, p. 306, vs. 8.

[23] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 174.

[24] DHI, Vol. II, p. 179.

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khand, after the Bundellas, who ruled there from about the middle of the 14th century A.D. Bundelkhand is now a part of Vindhya Pradesh which was formed by union of 35 Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand states on April 2, 1948, with a total area of 24,600 square miles, and which is situated between Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The soil of the region is fertile and it has an annual rainfall of about 40 inches. Vindhya Pradesh is situated in the centre of the Indian Union and development of transport and communications is one of the most essential present-day needs of the state. This same problem faced the Candellas a thousand years ago, and as will be shown in our final chapter, this was one of the obstacles in the way of setting up a strong central administration. Some of the districts like Saugor, Jabbalpore, Jhansi, Hamirpur, etc. that were parts of the Candella empire are now portions of modern Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.[25]

According to tradition, the original home of the Candellas was at Maniyagarh in Chhatarpur State. The eight Candella forts mentioned in tradition are, Barigarh, Kalanjara, Ajaygarh, Maniyagarh, Marpha, Maudha, Garha, and Mahiyar.[26] Of these eight places, only Kalanjara and Ajaygarh are mentioned in Candella inscriptions.[27] The boundaries of the kingdom varied from time to time. But there is little doubt that from the middle of the 10th century to the second half of the 13th century, the Candella kingdom always included Khajuraho, Kalanjara, and Ajaygarh.

Khajuraho, with its magnificent temples, Kalanjara with its strong fortress and Ajaygarh with its palace, are usually regarded as the religious, military and civil capitals of the Candellas.[28] The ancient city of Khajuraho is situated 34 miles to the south of Mahoba, 27 miles to the east of Chhatarpur and 25 miles to the north-west of Panna. Abu Rihan, who accompanied Sultan Mahmud in his campaign against Kalanjara in A.D. 1022, mentions it as Khajurahah, the capital of Jajahuti. Ibn Batuta, who visited it about A.D. 1335, calls it Kajura and describes it as having a lake about one mile in length surrounded by idol temples.[29] In a Candella inscription we find the term Kharjjuravahaka, which is the older name of Khajuraho.[30]

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[25] Hindusthan Year Book 1952.

[26] IA, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 132.

[27] The fort of Ajaygarh is always mentioned as Jayapuradurga in the inscriptions.

The famous fort of Kalanjara is situated 90 miles to the west-south-west of Allahabad, and 60 miles to the north-west of Rewa. The fort stands on an isolated flat-topped hill of the Vindhya range. It was captured by Yasovarman about the middle of the 10th century, and from then onwards was the most important place in the Candella kingdom. Many inscriptions of the dynasty have been found at Kalanjara. The history and antiquities of Kalanjara have been described in detail by Cunningham in volume XXI of his Archaeological Survey Reports.

The fort of Ajaygarh is 20 miles to the south-west of Kalanjara, and, like Kalanjara, is situated on a lofty flat-topped spur of the Vindhya hills, within sight of the river Kiyan, or Ken, which is only 8 miles distant. It is about 700 or 800 feet above the plain. The lower part of the hill is not very steep, but the upper part is very abrupt and quite inaccessible to attackers.[31]

Mahoba is a very ancient city. It is situated at the foot of a granite hill, 54 miles to the south of Hamirpur at the junction of the Betwa and Jumna, and 34 miles to the north of Khajuraho. The ancient name of the city was Mahotsavanagara or "the city of the great festival", of which the name Mahoba is a vernacular contraction. Cunningham rightly believes that it got its name from the great festival which was celebrated there by Candravarman, the traditional founder of the dynasty.[32] These four places, Khajuraho, Kalanjara, Mahoba and Ajaygarh, comprised the vital centres of the Candella kingdom. Of the other forts mentioned in traditions, very little is known, and they cannot have been of much importance. Smith, who had been to these places, has given a brief account of them in volume XXXVII of the Indian Antiquary.

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[28] IA, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 132.
[29] ASR, Vol. II. p 412.
[30] EI, Vol. I, p. 147, vs. 63.
[31] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 46.

In the early mediaeval period, the Candella principality was known as *Jejabhukti* or *Jejakabhukti.* A fragmentary Mahoba inscription records that Jayasakti, one of the earlier Candella kings, gave his name to Jejabhukti, just as Prithu did to Prithvi.[33] In the two Brahmanical temples of Madanpur, there are several short inscriptions, in one of which the country conquered by the Cahamana ruler Prithviraja III is mentioned as Jejakabhukti.[34] In the smaller temple there is an inscription which gives the perfect reading of the name of the country as Jejakabhuktimandala.[35] Historians usually accept Jejabhukti or Jejakabhukti, as the "old name of Bundelkhand and the original of the vernacular from Jajahuti or Jajahoti, just as modern Tirhut is derived from Tirabhukti".[36]

According to Cunningham, "The earliest mention of the province is by Hwen Thsang in A.D. 641. He calls it Chi-chi-to, or Jajhoti, and places the capital at 1,000 li, or 167 miles to the north-east of Ujjain. The bearing is sufficiently accurate, but the distance is about double 1,000 li, or upwards of 300 miles, whether we take Mahoba or Khajuraho to have been the chief city at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit."[37] Cunningham further suggested that the province of Jajhoti corresponded with the modern district of Bundelkhand at its widest extent, and that the country in which the Jajhotiya Brahmanas preponderate must be the actual province of Jajhoti.[38] Cunningham's identification of Jajahuti with Chi-chi-to was accepted by Smith.[39] But this identification of Cunningham and Smith cannot be accepted for the simple reason, as pointed out by Dr. H. C. Ray[40] and others, that Jayasakti, the king after whom the country was named, could not have reigned before the middle of the 9th century A.D. It may be suggested that the province was not actually named after Jayasakti, but had its name some centuries earlier ; but as there is no reliable contrary evidence, there is no good reason to disbelieve the statement of the inscription.

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[32] ASR, Vol. II, p. 439.
[33] EI, Vol. I, p. 221, line 6.
[34] ASR, Vol. X, p. 98 ; Vol. XXI, pp. 173-174.
[35] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 174.
[36] EI, Vol. I, p. 218.

IV. Early History of the Dynasty : Candellas as feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratiharas :

Nannuka :

According to traditions current in Mahoba and the neighbouring villages, a Gaharwar Raj preceded at some undefined date the rule of the Candellas. Practically nothing is known about the early Gaharwars excepting that they were great tank builders. As none of the embankments ascribed to them is situated more than about 15 miles from Mahoba, the Gaharwar rule probably did not extend far beyond its immediate neighbourhood.

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[37] ASR, Vol. II, pp. 412-413.

[38] ASR, Vol. II, p. 413.

[39] IA, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 130-131.

[40] DHNI, II, p. 670. Dr. Ray thinks that Watters may be right in suggesting that Chi-chi-to of Yuan Chwang represents modern Chitor and not Jajhoti—Ibid.

The traditions preserved by the Kanungo's family of Mahoba state that the Gaharwar dynasty was succeeded by the rule of the Parihars. This tradition is supported by some other evidence. The small principality of Nagod or Uchahara situated between Allahabad and Jabbalpore about 100 miles from Mahoba, was governed by a Parihar chief even as late 1881.

The town of Panwari, situated about 27 miles west-north-west of Mahoba is said to have been founded by a Parihar Thakur in A.D. 903. Part of the town of Mahoba, according to Smith, till very recently was remembered as the Parihars' quarter. Lastly, traditions of some other villages mention early Parihar occupation of Mahoba and the surrounding places. Relying on this evidence, Smith believed that the Parihars actually preceded the Candellas.[41] The Parihars, according to the Mahoba Kanungos, were overthrown by Candella Candravarman in 677 Samvat,[42] of an unspecified era.

The Candella inscriptions, however, do not mention any king of that name. The earliest inscription of the dynasty is the Khajuraho Stone inscription of Dhanga of Samvat 1011 (A.D. 954).[43] This and other later records, after mentioning the names of mythical figures, refer to Nannuka as the first important member of the family. Thus Nannuka appears to be the first historical king of the Candella dynasty. Dr. Ray suggests an agreement between tradition and epigraphy by taking the name of Candravarma as a mere *biruda* of Nannuka. He, however, does not accept the tradition that the founder of the dynasty overthrew the Parihars, but argues that from about this time to the beginning of the 10th century, the Gurjara-Pratiharas were at the height of their power and could not have been driven out of this place by the Candellas.[44] While accepting Dr. Ray's conjecture that Candravarma was the *biruda* of Nannuka, it may be pointed out that minor branches of the Pratiharas settled in different parts of India at that time. Hence it is quite possible that the Candellas overthrew a minor branch of the Pratiharas ruling in Mahoba and nearby places, but owed allegiance to the main branch ruling in Kanauj.

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[41] JASB, Vol. L. pp. 1-4.
[42] Ibid., p. 4.
[43] EI, Vol. I, pp. 122-135.

Cunningham found another point of agreement between traditional and epigraphic evidence. Various traditions give four different dates for the foundation of Mahoba by Candravarman. These are, S. 225, S. 204, S. 661 and S. 682. Cunningham referred the smaller numbers to the Sri Harsa era, the epoch of which he gives as A. D. 606, which makes them equivalent to A.D. 831 and 810 respectively. He referred the larger numbers to the Saka era, which makes them equivalent to A.D. 739 and 760 respectively. Dhanga's earliest known date is A.D. 954. Now Cunningham assigned a period of 20 to 25 years to each ruler preceding Dhanga. Thus by counting backwards from A.D. 954, he fixed the first quarter of the 9th century as the approximate date of Nannuka. This fits in perfectly with the two traditional dates referred to the Harsa era by Cunningham.[45] No good explanation of the other two dates, S. 661 and S. 682, can be found, but in any case all evidence points to the beginning of Candella history in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D.

In the Khajuraho Stone inscription of Dhanga, Nannuka is described as "a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame ; (and) of whom, inasmuch as his enemies without exception bowed down at the progress of his unprecedented valour, princes, confounded through fear, carried his command on their heads, like a garland ".[46] This inscription mentions him as a Nripa. In another inscription he is called a Mahipati, and is compared with Arjuna.[47] These comparatively humble titles suggest that he was a feudatory. In fact there is no doubt that he was subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratiharas. The Barah Copper Plate of Pratihara Bhojadeva records a grant made by Bhoja in the Kalanjara-mandala in A.D. 836 which shows that Kalanjara was a part of the Pratihara empire at that time.[48] Nannuka was at first probably a feudatory of Nagabhata II (c. 815—833 A.D.)[49] Nagabhata's successor was Ramabhadra, a weak ruler, whose short reign (833—836 A.D.) saw a great crisis in the Pratihara fortunes. The twelfth verse of the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja Pratihara probably implies that Ramabhadra freed his country from the yoke of notorious and cruel foreign soldiers.[50] Dr. Majumdar thinks that the enemies referred to here were the Palas, who must have caused very serious disturbances.[51] Ramabhadra being unable to cope with the danger single-handed is recorded to have solicited the aid of his feudatories.[52] We may assume that Nannuka, being one of these feudatories, helped Ramabhadra in this crisis. This may have increased his power and prestige. But, as Dr. Ray warns, it would be very risky to assume that Nannuka enjoyed independent sovereign power.[53] In all probability, he was no more than a powerful vassal of the Pratiharas.

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[44] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 667.

[45] ASR, Vol. II, pp. 446-447.

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[46] EI, Vol. I, p. 125, vs. 10.

[47] Ibid., p. 141, vs. 14, 15.

[48] EI, Vol. XIX, p. 18, line 6.

[49] Unless otherwise stated we accept the chronology of Dr. H. C. Ray (DHNI) for the Prathiaras and other Northern Indian dynasties.

[50] ASR, 1903-1904, p. 281, vs. 12.

[51] JDL, Vol. X, 1923, p. 46.

[52] HOK, pp. 236-237.

Vakpati :

Nannuka's son and successor was Vakpati. The Khajuraho Stone inscription of A.D. 954 states that from Nannuka was born the illustrious Vakpati, whose spotless fame spreads in all the three worlds with the rays of the sun. He is also said to have defeated all his enemies and made the Vindhyas his pleasure-mount.[54] Another inscription calls him a Ksitipa and praises him for excelling the mythical kings Prithu and Kakustha, in valour and wisdom.[55] As is evident from the inscriptions, Vakpati does not seem to have made any great achievements, although he may have somewhat extended the Candella dominion, presumably towards the Vindhyas.

Jayasakti and Vijayasakti :

Vakpati had two sons, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 records. "as the moon and the Kaustubha (arose) from the ocean of milk, so were born from that home of wonder [Vakpati] two sons, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. Princes, when they are met together, enraptured praise with shaking of heads the deeds of both of them, by the unmeasured prowess of whom adversaries were destroyed as woods are burnt by a blazing fire."[56] Jayasakti is also mentioned as Jeja and Jejjaka in other inscriptions,[57] while Vijayasakti is mentioned as Vijaya, Vijja and Vija.[58] As has already been stated, the Candella principality of Vijayasakti, who is mentioned in another inscription, which says that, like Rama in his warlike expeditions, he reached even the southernmost point of India.[59] Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the epithet '*suhrida-upakṛiti-dakṣa*' shows that Vijayasakti undertook this expedition for the benefit of an ally.[60] Now as the Pala king Devapala (c. 801-840) also claims to have reached the Vindhya region and sent an expedition to the extreme south, Dr. Majumdar thinks that the Candellas had helped the Pala ruler Devapala in his war against Bhoja Pratihara, and in return for this, after Bhoja's defeat the Candellas were rewarded with the sovereignty of the territory near Khajuraho, perhaps under the suzerainty of Devapala.[61]

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[53] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 668.
[54] EI, Vol. I, pp. 125-126, vs. 12-13.
[55] EI, Vol. I, p. 141, vs. 16, 17.
[56] EI, Vol. I, p. 126, vs. 14-15.
[57] Ibid., p. 221, vs. 10 ; p. 122, line 6.
[58] Ibid, p. 141, vs. 18 ; p. 122, line 6, p. 221, vs. 10.

It is very unsafe to assume on the evidence of the casual reference in the Candella inscription that Vijayasakti was a friend of Devapala and assisted the latter in defeating Bhoja Pratihara. The Barah Copper Plate definitely shows that the *Kalanjara-mandala* was within Bhoja's empire in A.D. 836[62] and Dr. Majumdar himself points out that Khajuraho, only 50 miles from Kalanjara, might well have been included in the *Kalanjara-mandala*.[63] Even if we accept the view that Devapala defeated Bhoja Pratihara in A.D. 840[64] there is no reason to believe that the Palas gave the Candellas sovereignty of the territory near Khajuraho. It may be pointed out that the Candella dynasty was founded by Nannuka, and Vijayasakti was two generations removed from him. As Nannuka is generally accepted to have ruled in the first quarter of the 9th century, it is very difficult to think of Vijayasakti as a contemporary and ally of Devapala in A.D. 840, especially as it is known that Harsa, Vijayasakti's grandson, was ruling in A.D. 916.[65] As regards Mr. S. K. Mitra's opinion that the epithet *'suhrida'* was not an 'appropriate epithet' for Gurjara-Pratihara king who was Vijayasakti Candella's overlord,[66] it may be pointed out that the inscription in question was issued at a time (A.D. 1002) when the Candellas under Dhanga were at the zenith of their power, and they would not naturally refer to one of their ancestors as a feudatory of another king.[67]

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[59] EI, Vol. I, pp. 141-142, vs. 20.

[60] HOB, Vol. I, p. 119, fn. 4. The second part of the verse is: Suhrida-upakriti-dakso daksinasam jigisuh punaradhita payodher-bandha—vaidhuryam aryah-Kielhorn in EI, Vol. I, p. 142, reads *Vaidhuya*, but the 'Ar' is quite visible in the facsimile of Cunningham (ASR, Vol. XXI, Pl. XVIII). It seems that the last 2 syllables should read Aryah, since otherwise the verse would not make good sense.

[61] HOB, Vol. I, p. 119, fn. 4.

According to Dr. Majumdar, Devapala ruled between A.D. 810-850—Ibid., p. 121.

[62] EI. Vol. XIV. p. 18, line 6.

[63] HOB, Vol. I, p. 119, fn. 4.

[64] Ibid.

Dr. Majumdar, we believe, has assigned too much importance to this verse in the Khajuraho inscription, which is more probably an extravagant claim than real achievement. Even if we accept the claim of this inscription, there can hardly be any doubt that Vijayasakti undertook any such expedition as a feudatory of the Pratiharas. The term *Bhukti* means a province or part of a kingdom ; and since the two brothers, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti, ruled over a *Bhukti,* it is clear that they were also feudatory chieftains like their predecessors. It is very significant that, in spite of being honourably mentioned as the illustrious ancestors of the family, in most of the inscriptions they are simply called *viras* (heroes) though their predecessors Vakpati and Nannuka are called Ksitipa or Mahipati. The vast difference in the character of the reigns of the weak Ramabhadra and of the great Bhoja perhaps explains this anomaly. Dr. Ray seems quite justified in concluding that Vijayasakti, who succeeded his elder brother Jayasakti as the head of the family, was still a subordinate chief, possibly under the Gurjara-Pratihara Bhoja or his son Mahendrapala (c. 893—907).[68] One cannot, however, satisfactorily explain why these two kings have often been mentioned in later Candella inscriptions, whereas the more important and greater kings like Dhanga and Vidyadhara have been omitted. This may have been simply because there were popular martial ballads about their brave deeds, which made them famous in later centuries, but which are now lost. This seems probable from the facts that they are usually mentioned together, as though their joint names had become household words, that they are referred to as heroes, and that great exploits are briefly attributed to them in later inscriptions.

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[65] Infra, pp. 22-26.

[66] IHQ, Vol. XXIX, No. 3. Sept., 1953, p. 307.

[67] It is interesting to note that this inscription compares Nannuka with Arjuna, Vakpati with Prithu and Kakustha, and Vijayasakti with Rama, vs. 15, 17, 20.

Rahila :

Vijayasakti's son and successor was Rahila. The Khajuraho Stone inscription of Dhanga informs us that the younger of the two brothers, i.e., Vijayasakti, begat a son named Rahila, thinking of whom his enemies enjoy little sleep at night.[69] The same inscription praises him as a great warrior destroying his enemies by the wind of his unappeased anger.[70] Another inscription says that he favoured his friends and punished his enemies.[71] The poet Chand ascribes the foundation of the town Rasin in the Banda district, the full name of which is Rajavasini, to Rahilavarman.[72] No historical facts can be derived from these conventional praises. Rahila was no more than one of the early Candella feudatory rulers under the Pratiharas, and it was only during the reign of his son and successor, Harsa, that the Candella family became really important.

[68] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 671.
[69] EI, Vol. I, p. 126, vs. 16.
[70] Ibid., vs. 17.
[71] EI, Vol. I, p. 142, vs. 23.
[72] IA, Vol. XV, p. 283.

CHAPTER II

RISE OF THE CANDELLAS : HARSA AND YASOVARMAN

(I) Harsa :

The Nanyaura Plate of Dhanga states that "In the exalted family of the venerable sage Candratreya, the crest-jewel of the three worlds, there was a prince, the illustrious Harsadeva, (who was) a tree of paradise to those attached (to him), a root of joy to the good, nectar for the eyes of his friends, a mighty comet boding evil to the host of his enemies, a bridge across the ocean of battle. The prowess of this (prince), who inspired fear by his terrific array of troops, (and) who had made tributary (to himself other) sovereigns, was difficult to endure, like the brilliancy of the summer sun, which is fierce with its burning orb, (and) which scorches with its rays the mountains."[1] It is evident from this inscription that Harsa was regarded as one of the important and powerful kings of the dynasty. He reigned at a period when events of great importance were happening on the stage of Northern India and the Candella ruler played no minor part in the affairs of the time.

By this time the Gurjara-Pratiharas had succeeded in making themselves a paramount power in Northern India. But their supremacy was seriously challenged by the Rastrakutas and the Palas. Since the death of Mahendrapala (c. 893-907) the position of the Pratiharas was gradually worsening. After the death of Mahendrapala there was possibly some trouble between Bhoja II and Mahipala over the succession to the Pratihara throne. Bhoja II, who appears to have succeeded Mahendrapala, had a short reign (c. 908-914). He was succeeded by Mahipala (c. 914-943).

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[1] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 202, line 1.

The internal disorder coupled with external aggression imperilled the Pratihara Empire. The situation reached its climax when, some time in A.D. 916-917, the Rastrakutas under their king Indra III (c. 915-917) undertook an expedition against the Pratiharas. The Rastrakuta army completely devastated Kanauj and the Pratihara ruler Mahipala saved his life by flight. The great humiliation suffered by Mahipala at the hands of the Rastrakutas is known from an account of the Kanarese poet Pampa, who says that Narasimha, a Calukya feudatory of the Rastrakutas, put to flight the army of the Ghurjjara-raja and terrified the king so much that the latter fled in consternation 'not stopping to eat or sleep or rest'.[2] The Palas of Bengal did not remain idle and, taking advantage of the situation, recovered parts of Bihar from the Pratiharas. The reappearance of Pala inscriptions in the Gaya district at this time proves their success against their western rivals.[3]

Mahipala, in his attempt to recover the lost kingdom, sought the help of his feudatories. That the help of the Candella ruler was sought is known from a fragmentary Khajuraho inscription which says that a Candella king placed Ksitipaladeva again on the throne.[4] This Ksitipaladeva is identified with the Pratihara Mahipala and this identification is accepted by all scholars. The name of the Candella king who helped Ksitipala is lost. Kielhorn takes this prince to be Harsadeva,[5] while Hoernle takes him to be Harsa's son and successor Yasovarman.[6] It is very difficult to ascertain the name of the Candella king. But the line 7 says that the illustrious Harsa by his own arm conquered many proud enemies,[7] which tends to show that he was the king referred to. Dr. R. S. Tripathi also thinks that the Candella king was Harsa, for, according to the Candella inscriptions, Yasovarman was a contemporary of Mahipala's son Devapala, and the above incident relates to the beginning of the career of Mahipala.[8]

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[2] DHNI, Vol. I, p. 307.

[3] Ibid., pp. 306-307.

[4] EI, Vol. I, p. 122, line 10. "Punar yena sri-ksitipaladevanrpatih simhasane stha [pitah] ".

[5] Ibid., p. 122.

[6] JRAS, 1904, p. 665, fn. 1.

Scholars, however, do not agree as to the actual course of events and their consequences. Smith said that it is possible that the victory credited to Harsa was won by him in alliance with the Rastrakutas, who also make a similar claim of military success ; but he believed it more probable that Harsa, forgetting his usual rivalry, helped Ksitipala, and rescued him from the hands of the Rastrakutas. He continued by suggesting, apparently reverting to his first hypothesis, that neither the Rastrakutas nor the Candellas were strong enough to hold Kanauj permanently, and they had to be content with a successful invasion and the dethroning and replacement of the Pratihara king.[9] Dr. Altekar thinks that the invasion of Indra III produced dramatic results that were achieved by no previous Rastrakuta king and, but for his premature death, more tangible and substantial results would have followed.[10] Dr. H. C. Ray thinks that Mahipala managed to recover the lost kingdom only with the help of Harsa and other feudatories. He refers to the Chatsu inscription of Baladitya, in which the Guhila prince Bhatta, a contemporary of Mahipala, is said to have defeated armies of the kings of the south at the behest of his overlord,[11] and accepts Dr. R. C. Majumdar's suggestion that the "armies of the kings of the south" mentioned are none but the Rastrakutas. Thus Mahipala succeeded in regaining his lost kingdom, but the Rastrakuta invasion helped to bring about a new relationship between the Pratiharas and their vassals which in the end proved fatal to the former.[12] Dr. Tripathi takes a different view of the situation and suggests another meaning of the line in the Khajuraho inscription. He says that the word "punah" has so far been taken by scholars in the sense of "again" and they think that it alludes to Mahipala's "replacement" after a temporary loss of kingly dignity. Dr. Tripathi thinks that "punah" in the inscription means "further", "besides" or "now" and is used simply to introduce further details about the achievements of the Candella king[13] He does not agree with the suggestion that Harsa assisted the Pratihara ruler to re-establish his authority over the lost kingdom. He argues that the Khajuraho inscription does not refer to Ksitipala's restoration to the throne but to his accession with the help of the Candella king.[14]

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[7] EI, Vol. I, p. 122, line 7.
[8] HOK, p. 257, fn. 1.
[9] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 138.
[10] RATT, p. 103.
[11] EI, Vol. XII, pp. 12, 16 vs. 26.

According to Dr. Tripathi, Bhoja II and Mahipala were step-brothers. After the death of Mahendrapala, Bhoja II with the help of the Kalacuri king Kokkalla succeeded in enthroning himself, ousting his step-brother Mahipala. Mahipala sought the help of the Candella prince Harsa as a counterpoise to the alliance between his rival Bhoja II and Kokkalla. Harsa, who probably still recognised the supremacy of Mahipala, at once took his cause and, according to the Khajuraho inscription, succeeded in placing Mahipala on the throne. This increased the power and prestige of Harsa.[15]

Dr. Tripathi draws the above conclusion on the evidence of the Banaras Grant of the Kalacuri Karnadeva, which says that Kokkalla, "granted freedom from fear to Bhoja,

[12] DHNI, vol. I, pp. 581-582.
[13] HOK, p. 257, fn. 1.
[14] HOK, p. 261.
[15] HOK, pp. 256-257.

Vallabharaja, the Citrakutabhupala Harsa, and Raja Sankaragana."[16] Dr. Tripathi identifies the Bhoja of this inscription with the Pratihara ruler Bhoja II and Harsa with the Candella Harsadeva.[17] It seems very strange that Harsa, who was one of the protected kings, took the side of Mahipala and fought the nominee of his own protector Kokkalla, and therefore indirectly fought Kokkalla himself. It is unlikely that Harsa would obtain "freedom from fear" from the Kalacuri king, and at the same time fight against a person whose cause had been upheld by the latter. Moreover, we know that the Candellas and the Kalacuris were on friendly terms and there is reference to matrimonial alliance between the two dynasties.

The Banaras Copper Plate inscription of Kalacuri Karnadeva says that "Kokkalla married a lady named Natta or Nattadevi, who was born in the Candella family".[18] Thus the two families were allied by marriage, and Dr. Tripathi's view that the Candella inscription, claiming the reinstatement of Ksitipala by a Candella king, refers to Harsa's help to Mahipala in the war of succession, cannot be accepted. It rather seems that the Rastrakuta Indra III overran and completely devastated Kanauj. The Pratihara king Mahipala, alias Ksitipala, lost his dominions and fled the country. But the Rastrakuta success, though complete, was short-lived. Mahipala, with the assistance of his powerful feudatory Harsa, succeeded in recovering the imperial throne. Mahipala was helped by Harsa not in his fight for succession with Bhoja II, but against the Rastrakutas in recovering the lost kingdom. This sequence of events fits in with the claim of the Khajuraho inscription and supports the reading of the word "punah" as "once more" and not "further", as read by Dr. Tripathi. The internal dissensions in the Pratihara family probably helped Harsa and other feudatories to increase their power, but their best opportunity came after the Rastrakuta invasion. No doubt Harsa and others came to the rescue of their sovereign, but in the process they greatly increased their own strength. By his campaign in support of Mahipala, Harsa succeeded in uplifting the Candellas as one of the important powers in Northern India.

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[16] EI, Vol. II, p. 306, vs. 7.

[17] HOK, p. 256. The identification of the Citrakutabhupala Harsa of the inscription with the Candella prince Harsadeva is accepted by all scholars, but they do not agree on the identification of Bhoja. Some identify him with the Pratihara Bhoja I and some with the Pratihara Bhoja II. Dr. Ray says that as Indra III, the great grandson of Kokkalla, was contemporary with Mahipala, the grandson of Bhoja I, Cunningham and Kielhorn were perhaps right in identifying this Bhoja with Bhoja I (ASR, Vol. IX p. 84, 103 : EI, Vol. II, p. 301, 304)—DHNI, II, p. 754. R. D. Banerjee identifies Bhoja with Bhoja II and says that "one Kokkaladeva who is contemporary of Harsa and Krishna II can never be a contemporary of Bhoja I"—Banglar Itihas, p. 202. Dr. R. C. Majumdar does not agree with Banerjee's contention and has tried to show that Bhoja I may have been contemporary of Harsa and Kokkalla—JOL, 1923, Vol. X, p. 52. But both Dr. Ray and Majumdar agree that the identification of Bhoja of this inscription with Bhoja II is not impossible. We think that Bhoja referred to here is Bhoja II, for know that Bhoja I was a great ruler, and it is very unlikely that he needed any protection from Kokkalla. On the contrary, the weakness of Bhoja II and the events of the time suggest that he may have needed some help from the Kalacuri king to get the throne of Kanauj.

[18] EI, Vol. II, p. 306, vs. 8.

Harsa had matrimonial relations with the Cahamanas. The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 states that Harsa married with due rites a suitable (lady) of equal caste, named Kancuka, sprung from the Cahamana family.[19] These matrimonial alliances with the Kalacuris and the Cahamanas undoubtedly increased the social prestige of the Candellas and helped Harsa to consolidate his position. Considering his remarkable achievement, it is not surprising to find the Khajuraho Stone inscription comparing him with "a tree of paradise" and praising his widely expanding fame. In Harsa, we are told, fortune and eloquence combined, statesmanship, heroism and vigour "radiant with the quality of goodness and complete patience" came to him by nature, with "contentment and a desire for victory, modesty and self-confidence". He was anxious to worship the feet of Visnu, "unacquainted with wicked utterances", and was abashed when his own excellencies were being enumerated. He is also praised for being "void of calumnious speech" and "mute from birth to utter untrue words" and "being endowed with famous qualities."[20] Undoubtedly, Harsa founded the future greatness of the Candella dynasty. Without openly defying the Gurjara-Pratiharas, he brought the Candellas into the forefront and left a great opportunity for his son and successor Yasovarman to utilise.

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[19] EI, Vol. I, p. 126, vs. 21.

(II) Yasovarman :

The Khajuraho Stone inscription of A.D. 1002, states that Harsa's wife Kancuka bore to him a son named Yasovarmadeva, who was pious and munificent, and who firmly established his rule by subduing other kings.[21] He is also mentioned as Laksmavarman in the same Candella inscription.[22] No inscription of Yasovarman himself has yet been discovered, but in the Khajuraho Stone inscription (A.D. 954) of his son Dhanga, a glowing account of his achievements is given. Kielhorn took this inscription to be of Yasovarman himself, but as it ends with an account of Dhanga and his achievements, there is no doubt that it was set up during his reign.

The greatest achievement of Yasovarman was the conquest of Kalanjara. The Khajuraho inscription says, "He easily conquered the Kalanjara mountain, the dwelling-place of Siva, which is so high that it impedes the progress of the sun at mid-day."[23] The question from whom Yasovarman conquered Kalanjara is difficult to answer. The Karhad Plates of Rastrakuta Krishna III of A.D. 959 claim that Krishnaraja became for a long time the lord of the earth, terrified the Gurjaras, and "on hearing the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kalanjara and Citrakuta vanished from the heart of the Gurjara'..[24] The inscription also records that all the feudatories from the Eastern to the Western ocean, and from the Himalaya to Simhala bowed to him out of fear, though Krishna himself was obedient to his father, i.e. Amoghavarsa.[25]

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[20] EI, Vol. I, p. 126, vs. 18-20.
[21] Ibid., vs. 23.
[22] EI, Vol. p. 128, vs. 37.
[23] EI, Vol I, pp. 127-128, vs. 31.

It is evident from these verses that the Rastrakutas under Krishna III invaded the Gurjara dominions and succeeded in holding the famous forts of Kalanjara and Citrakuta for a time. As Krishna made these conquests during the lifetime of his father Amoghavarsa, who died sometime before A.D. 940, the Rastrakuta invasion must have taken place before that date. The discovery of a Kanarese Prasasti inscribed on a stone slab at Jura in the Maihar district of modern Vindhya Pradesh supports the evidence of the Rastrakuta inscription, and Dr. Ray thinks that Yasovarman may have captured Kalanjara from the Rastrakutas. He believes that the sudden emergence of the Candellas as one of the first-class powers in the country south of the Jumna was perhaps due "partially to their success against these ruthless marauders of the Deccan, the predecessors of the Maratha horsemen of a later period".[26] Dr. Altekar holds the same view and thinks that Yasovarman reconquered Kalanjara sometime before A.D. 953.[27] Dr. Tripathi also thinks that Yasovarman reconquered Kalanjara from the Rastrakutas, but points out that the latter are not mentioned in the Khajuraho inscription among the peoples defeated by Yasovarman.[28] This is really significant and makes it difficult to accept the views of Dr. Ray and Dr. Altekar unreservedly.

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[24] EI, Vol. IV p. p. 284, vs. 30—"Yasya-paruseksita 'Khila-daksina-dig-durga-Vijayamakarnya Galita Gurjara-hridayat Kalanjara-citrtkutasa."

[25] Ibid., p. 284-85, vs. 31.

[26] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 674.

[27] RATT, p. 113.

The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 states that Yasovarman "brought distress on the shameful Cedis" and "free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Cedi king whose forces were countless, who had put down his lotus foot on rows of diadems of famous princes."[29] Kielhorn identified the Cedi king with Yuvaraja I.[30] Dr. Ray takes this to be a genuine claim and identifies the Cedi king with Balaharsa, a weak king, who had a short reign.[31] On the evidence of the above verses, Dr. Jaidev assumes that Yasovarman inaugurated the struggle with the Kalacuris and captured Kalanjara from them.[32]

Dr. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that there is no reason for assuming the capture of Kalanjara by the Rastrakutas on the evidence of the inscriptions. According to him, the Kalacuris and the Rastrakutas were bound by ties of close political and dynastic alliances. The fame of the success of Krishna in the south, served to some extent to strengthen the political position of the Kalacuris and other friends of Krishna against their enemies, in particular the Pratiharas. Dr. Sastri suggests that Yasovarman captured Kalanjara probably with the aid of the Kalacuris from the Pratiharas and that his success was a blow to the Gurjaras. "All hopes of its recovery entertained by the Gurjaras must have been blasted by the resounding success of Krishna, the ally of the Candellas and Cedis. Krishna might himself have aided Yasovarman in the enterprise during the period of his stay at Tripuri in the reign of Govinda IV."[33] Dr. Sastri's hypothesis suggests that there was an alliance between the Kalacuris, Rastrakutas and the Candellas against the Pratiharas. Such an alliance seems highly improbable. The Candella inscriptions definitely refer to hostile relations between the Kalacuris and the Candellas. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that during a period of continuous dynastic struggle for supremacy, the Kalacuris and the Rastrakutas would have helped the rising Candellas in gaining the important fort of Kalanjara. But the Kalacuris and the Rastrakutas had matrimonial alliances and the existence of friendly relations between the two dynasties is quite possible.[34]

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[28] HOK, p. 271.

[29] EI, Vol. I, pp. 126-127 vs. 23, 28.

[30] EI, Vol. II, p. 301.

[31] DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 759-760. In his chapter on the Candellas in the same volume, Dr. Ray, however, identifies this Cedi king with the Kalacuri prince of Tripuri, Laksmanaraja or his predecessor Yuvaraja I, Ibid., pp. 675-676.

[32] P. ch. Thesis, p. 41.

We may reconstruct the history of the period as follows. Harsa had re-established the Pratihara emperor Mahipala alias Kshitipala on the throne of Kanauj after the Rastrakuta invasion of A.D. 917. But the restored emperor did not enjoy the throne in peace for long. About the year A.D. 940 the Rastrakutas, under Krishna III, undertook another campaign against the Pratihara empire. As a result of this, parts of

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[33] PAIOC, Oct., 1946, pp. 436-437.

[34] The verse 25 of the Karhad Plates (EI, IV, p. 284) states :—

> "Rama-hata-sahasra-bhujo bhujadvayakalita-Samada-ramena
> Janani-patni-gururapi yena Sahasrarjuno vijitah."

"He conquered Sahasrarjuna, though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife, (Sahasrarjuna) whose thousand arms were cut off by Rama (*i.e.*, Parasurama) who, maddened as he was, was in his turn (only verbally) put down by him (*viz.*, Krsnaraja) by means of his two hands, (or he having held intoxicated young women with his two hands) ", p. 288.

On the evidence of the above verse Dr. Altekar thinks that Krishna III had conquered the olders of his wife and others, *i.e.*, the Cedis, which shows trat Krishna was not co-operating but fighting with the Cedis. According to Dr. Altekar, Krishna committed a blunder in alienating the sympathies of his Cedi relatives by attacking them, which affected his position in the North—RATT, p. 120—Dr. Sastri does not count the verse as historical, but only as mythology and word-play. He thinks it improbable that Krishna led an expedition against the Cedis or had any motive for doing so. PAIOC '46, pp. 436-437.

Central India, including the important cities of Kalanjara and Citrakuta, fell into Rastrakuta hands. This Rastrakuta success was probably due to the alliance with the Kalacuris ; but it was as short-lived as that of A.D. 917 had been. For internal reasons and owing to commitments in the South, Krishna was compelled to withdraw his armies from Northern India. As in A.D. 917, the Candella ruler came to the help of the Pratihara emperor, who was still his nominal suzerain. The Pratihara ruler recovered his lost territories from the Kalacuri ally of the Rastrakutas with the help of Yasovarman, but at the cost of Kalanjara and Citrakuta, which Yasovarman kept in his own possession instead of handing them over to the Pratiharas. Yasovarman is described as a " scorching fire to the Gurjaras " in the Khajuraho inscription[35] which shows that the weak Pratihara ruler could have done little to bring his powerful feudatory under subjection. Circumstances had made him virtually the subject of his own subject. So Kalanjara was not directly conquered from the Rastrakutas by Yasovarman, and this perhaps explains their omission from the list of peoples mentioned in the inscription as having been defeated by the Candella ruler.[36]

[35] EI, Vol. I, p. 126, vs. 23.

[36] It has already been mentioned above (p. 19) that from the Barah Copper Plate we know that Kalanjara was a part of the Pratihara empire. Dr. D. G. Ganguly, however, holds a different view. He points out that Sricandra of the Candra dynasty, and Bhojavarman of the Varman dynasty, granted lands in the Paundra-Bhukti, though the Candras and the Varmans ruled in East Bengal, and never held sway over North Bengal. Similarly, the fort of Kalanjara might not have been under the sway of the Pratiharas though they asserted their supremacy over a part of the Kalanjara Mandala. Dr. Ganguly argues that the Gurjara of the Rastrakuta inscriptions is to be taken to mean a country and not the Gurjara-Pratiharas. He says, " During this period the fort of Kalanjara was the target of attack of many kings. The attempt of the king of Gurjara, who seems to have been a king of the Guhila dynasty, to conquer it was frustrated by the Rastrakuta Krisna III. But the Candella Yasovarman succeeded in taking possession of it "......JBORS, Vol. 24, 1938, pp. 224-225. This seems very unlikely. The Guhilas are never known to have any important part in the dynastic struggles of the time. Moreover, from what we know of the relations

According to some scholars, Yasovarman's unique position in the Pratihara empire is made clear by another statement in the inscription of A.D. 954, verse 43 of which says, "(The image of) Vaikuntha (which) the ornament of princes, the illustrious king Yasovarman, who crushed his enemies, had set up (here),—the lord of Bhota obtained it from Kailasa, and from him Sahi, the king of Kira, received it as a token of friendship ; from him afterwards Herambapala obtained it for a force of elephants and horses and (Yasovarman himself) received it from Devapala, the lord of horses (Hayapati) the son of (Herambapala)."[37] Kielhorn identified this Devapala with the Devapala who is mentioned as a paramount sovereign of Kanauj and as the successor of Kshitipaladeva, in the Siyadoni inscription with the date V.S. 1005.[38] Considering the contemptuous reference to the Pratiharas in the Khajuraho inscription, and the relations between the two dynasties at that time, scholars believe that Yasovarman compelled the Pratihara Devapala to give him the precious image, thus making another show of his rising power.

The identification of this Hayapati Devapala with the Pratihara Devavala has been seriously challenged by Pandit Gaurisankar Ojhha, according to whom the identification is based on slender evidence. He says that the view that Devapala, son of Herambapala, who is introduced by the minor title of Hayapati (lord of horses), is the same as Devapala of Mahodaya, cannot be established on the casual mention of

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between the Rastrakutas and the Pratiharas, it is clear that the Gurjara of the Rastrakuta inscriptions was no other than the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj.

[37] EI, Vol. I, p. 134, vs. 43. "The Kiras" are identified by some with the Kasmiras, while in the Brihat Samhita, XIX, 29, they are separately enumerated as a people inhabiting the North East together with the Kasmiras", Ibid., p. 124. Dr. Tripathi locates them in the Kangra Valley of Punjab, HOK, p. 272 ; Dr. Majumdar places Kira in the neigrbourhood of Jalandhara—IHQ, Vol. IXm., p. 14.

Bhota is identified with modern Tibet—EI, Vol. I, p. 124.

[38] EI, Vol. I, p. 124.

the former in an inscription of another dynasty. Pt. Ojhha also points out that Hayapati was never the accepted title of the Pratiharas of Kanauj and is not met with in their inscriptions.[39] Dr. Tripathi tries to answer the objection raised by Pt. Ojhha by pointing out that the Pratiharas were widely noted for their cavalry. Sulaiman, the Arab traveller, says of Bhoja I Pratihara that " no other prince has so fine a cavalry ", and the Gwalior inscription refers to the " best cavalry " in charge of the feudatories of Ramabhadra. The term Hayapati indicates, according to Dr. Tripathi, that " the Pratiharas continued to enjoy among their contemporaries a reputation for maintaining an excellent cavalry, and as such were regarded " lords of horses " par excellence, although they did not, like the Gahadavalas, who used the epithet Asvapati, adopt it as an official title in their records ".[40] Though this explanation of the title Hayapati is not unreasonable, it does not put the identification beyond doubt. That Kshitipala, Mahipala and Herambapala are but the names of the same person, is far from definitely established. Moreover, if the object of the verse was to record Yasovarman's show of force against the Pratihara emperor it would have been more conveniently served by mentioning Devapala as the Pratihara monarch, rather than giving him the obscure epithet of Hayapati. It seems more probable that Herambapala and his son Hayapati Devapala belonged to one of the minor dynasties of Northern India.

It appears very curious to many scholars that, in spite of his great achievements and virtual independence, Yasovarman still owed nominal allegiance to the Pratiharas. Dr. R. C. Majumdar compares the relations of the Pratiharas and the Candellas with the rulers of Oudh and the later

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[39] EI, Vol. XIV, p. 180.

[40] HOK, pp. 257-258.

Mughals of Delhi,[41] while Dr. Ray thinks the instance of the Buwayhids of Ray and the later Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad more suitable.[42] The assumption that Yasovarman owed nominal allegiance to the Pratiharas is based on the reference to one Vinayakapala as 'protecting the earth' in the Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954. This Vinayakapala is identified by many scholars with Vinayakapala Pratihara. We, however, do not accept this identification and shall discuss the relations between the Pratiharas and the Candellas in detail in the next chapter.

Yasovarman's successes were not only against the Pratiharas and Kalacuris. Among others, he also claimed victories over the Palas of Bengal and Paramaras of Malwa. The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 says, "He was a sword to (cut down) the Gaudas as if they were pleasure creepers, equalled the forces of the Khasas, (and) carried off the treasure of the Kosalas ; before whom perished the Kasmiri warriors, who weakened the Mithilas, (and) was as it were a god of death to the Malavas....... who was to the Kurus what a storm is to trees".[43] The inscription thus claims Yasovarman's victory over the Palas, Khasas, Kosalas, Kashmiras, Mithilas, Malavas and the Kurus. The Candella claim of success against the Palas does not seem to be an idle one. As has already been mentioned (p. 23) taking advantage of the decline of the Pratiharas, the Palas under Gopala II (c. 921—978 A.D.) tried to recover some of their lost territories in the west. This brought them in conflict with the Candellas, which resulted in victory for the latter. During the later years of the reign of Gopala II, or during the reign of Vigrahapala II, the Palas seem to have suffered a great calamity. The Bangad grant of

[41] JOL, Vol. X, 1923, pp. 68-69.
[42] DHNI, Vol. I, p. 590, fn. 1.
[43] EI, Vol. I, p. 126, vs. 23.

Mahipala I, son of Vigrahapala II, says that the latter recovered his father's kingdom, "which had been snatched away through pride of prowess by people who had no claim to it".[44] This probably refers to the success of the Candellas and its consequences. It may be noted in this connection, that the earliest mention of a Gauda in official post is found in the same Candella inscription which claims victory over the Palas and which was written by Gauda Karanika Jaddha.[45] J. C. Ghosh suggests that Yasovarman first took some of these Gauda Brahmanas and Kayasthas from Bengal into his service and these were followed by others, who sought their fortunes at this and other courts.[46]

The contemporary Paramara ruler was probably Vairisimha II and his son Siyaka, who succeeded some time before A.D. 949. Like the Palas, Siyaka also attempted to extend his kingdom and had to face opposition from the Candellas, who by A.D. 954 had extended their territory up to Bhasvat or Bhilsa, which was situated on the bank of the Malava. Yasovarman probably defeated the Paramara king and the Khajuraho inscription refers to this Candella success.[47]

Of the other places mentioned in the inscription, Kashmir at this time was ruled by a number of weak kings, beginning with Cakravarman (A.D. 923-37) and ending in Parvagupta, (A.D. 949-50). The Khasa state of Lohara was ruled by one of the predecessors of Simharaja (c. A.D. 950), possibly Canduraja.[48] It does not, however, seem probable that Yasovarman, who had so recently been engaged in struggles with the Kalacuris in the south-east and the

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[44] EI, Vol. XIV, p. 330, vs. 12.

[45] EI, Vol. I, p. 129, vs. 48.

[46] IA, Vol. LX, p. 18.

[47] HOPD, p. 40.

[48] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 676. The Khasa settlement during this period extended in a wide semi-circle from Kastavar in the south-east to the Vitasta valley in the west and the Khasa families held hill states of Rajapuri and Lohara," Ibid., p. 674, fn. 3.

Palas in the east and was surrounded by enemies on all sides of his newly gained kingdom, would have found time and strength to invade such distant states. Mithila, as suggested by Dr. Ray, was possibly recovered by the Palas,[49] and the Candella claim that Yasovarman "weakened" the Mithilas suggests his failure in obtaining any great success. The verse clearly records that Yasovarman only "carried off the treasure" of the Kosalas, which indicates that it was a mere raid which was successful from the financial point of view. Kosala mentioned in the inscription is most probably the Northern Kosala (modern Oudh), because Yasovarman's conflict with the Pratiharas may well have brought him near the Uttara Kosala region which was within the Pratihara empire.[50] The expression *Samjvaro Gurjaranam* according to Dr. Ray, suggests Yasovarman's violent conflict with the Pratihara ruler.[51] It seems that Yasovarman's attack on the land of the Kurus was only an incident in his conflict with the Pratiharas. For, Kurukshetra was also within the Pratihara empire and they might have envied the rising power of the Candellas and come to the assistance of the Pratiharas for subduing Yasovarman. But the territories of the Malavas could not have been under the Gurjara rulers of Kanauj, for the Paramaras of Malwa had become very powerful by this time, and their conflict with the Candellas was one of their many struggles for dynastic supremacy. In general, the successes over the other states were probably mere raids, rather than sweeping victories.

Yasovarman is also praised for making Yamuna and Ganga his pleasure lakes and encamping his army on either banks of the rivers unmolested by enemies.[52] In spite of the usual exaggerations and poetic word plays, it is evident

[49] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 676.
[50] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 676, fn. 1.
[51] Ibid., p. 676.
[52] EI, Vol. I, p. 127, vs. 30.

from these verses that Yasovarman undertook expeditions in different directions with considerable success. He had built up a strong military power on the foundation laid by his father, Harsa. The Pratiharas had suffered severe blows and their downfall was almost complete. The Kalacuris were subdued and decline had set in with the Rastrakutas. The Candellas were virtually independent and transformed into one of the strongest powers in Northern India. They were about to enter on the greatest and the most splendid period of their history.

CHAPTER III.

THE CANDELLA KINGDOM AT ITS ZENITH :

DHANGA AND VIDYADHARA.

(c. A.D. 950—c. 1030.)

(i) Dhanga (c. A.D. 950—c. 1008)

Yasovarman was succeeded by his son Dhanga. His accession must have occurred some time before A.D. 954, the date of the earliest of his inscriptions, which says, "As the moon (arose) from the great ocean, so was born to him (Yasovarman) a son, causing joy to the people, the illustrious Dhanga, who by his arms has firmly established his upright rule over the earth".[1] His mother was queen Puppadevi.[2] From the Dudhai inscriptions we know of another son of Yasovarman, named Krishnapa. These inscriptions record the erection of a temple by one Devalabdhi of the Candella family, the son of illustrious Krishnapa and Asarva and the grandson of Yasovarman.[3] Cunningham's identification of this Yasovarman with the Candella ruler Yasovarman has been accepted by all scholars. In the Jhansi fragmentary inscription, one Kanhapa is mentioned as a nripa, and seems to have founded a city which was his capital. As this inscription mentions the Candella rulers Vijaka and Dhanga, Dr. Chakravarty identifies Kanhapa with Krishnapa of the Dudhai inscriptions.[4] He was probably a younger brother of Dhanga and was in charge of some district near Jhansi.

The most important event of Dhanga's reign was the final severence of all connections with the Pratiharas. Unfortunately, no detailed account of this event is available and only a bare outline is known from the indirect evidence of the inscriptions. The inscription of A.D. 954 ends with the verse—"While the illustrious Vinayakapaladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by enemies, who have been annihilated".[5] This Vinayakapala has been regarded as an emperor of the Pratihara family, whose mention as the suzerain in the inscription presents some difficulties. Scholars differ widely on the identification of this king and his place in the Pratihara chronology. Kielhorn, who edited the inscription, failed to offer any conjecture, and even expressed doubts about the correctness of his reading.[6] A close examination of the facsimile of this inscription, however, shows that there can be no doubt about the name.

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[1] EI, Vol. I, p. 134, vs. 44.
[2] EI, Vol. I, p. 144, vs. 40.
[3] IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-237.
[4] ASR, 1936-1937, pp. 94-95.

This Vinayakapala is identified by some scholars with the Pratihara ruler Vinayakapala known from the Bengal Asiatic Society Grant of A.D. 931 ; but this king must have ceased to rule before A.D. 946, the date of the Pratabgarh inscription of his son and successor Mahendrapala II.[7] But the Khajuraho inscription is dated A.D. 954, which makes it difficult to identify the two Vinayakapalas. Dr. Majumdar tries to solve this problem by supporting Kielhorn's assumption that although the Khajuraho inscription really belongs to the reign of Yasovarman, it was actually set up after his death during the reign of his son and successor Dhanga. Dr. Majumdar says that the date A.D. 954 denotes the time when the record was actually set up ; but the actual inscription may have been composed in Yasovarman's reign, some ten to fifteen years earlier. He believes that the name of the suzerain king Vinayakapala occurred in the original record and was retained in its subsequent modification in the time of Dhanga.[8] This explanation does not satisfy many scholars, and Dr. Tripathi asks why the name of a dead king should be retained and mentioned as 'protecting the earth' in the subsequent modification of an official document made in the time of his successor.[9]

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[5] EI, Vol. I, p. 129.

[6] EI, Vol. I, p. 124.

[7] EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-188.

Dr. N. R. Ray tries to solve this puzzle by suggesting that between Devapala (A.D. 948-949) and Vijayapala (A.D. 960), two more kings reigned in Kanauj. He takes Vinayakapala of the Khajuraho inscription to be the successor of Devapala Pratihara for a short time. Thus Dr. N. R. Ray believes in the existence of one Vinayakapala II, who, he thinks, has been mentioned in the Khajuraho inscription.[10]

We think that Dr. Majumdar's suggestion that the name of the dead king Vinayakapala has been retained in the subsequent inscription, though possible, is far from convincing. As to Dr. N. R. Ray's suggestion, it may be pointed out that we have inscriptions of Devapala (A.D. 948), Mahipala (A.D. 956), Vatsaraja (A.D. 957) and Vijayapala (A.D. 960), which are dated in close proximity, and this makes the existence of another king Vinayakapala II, ruling in A.D. 954 highly improbable.

There is, in our opinion, no sufficient ground for identifying the Vinayakapaladeva of the Khajuraho inscription with a Pratihara ruler. The main arguments for this identification are that the Pratiharas were suzerains of the Candellas and that there was a Pratihara ruler of that name. The chronology of the events greatly weakens the force of the above arguments. The Candellas, since the days of Harsa had become very powerful and they openly claim to have reinstated the Pratihara ruler Kshitipaladeva on the throne.[11] Harsa was mentioned as Citrakutabhupala by the ruler of another dynasty, and his son and successor had occupied the strong fortress of Kalanjara before A.D. 954. The Khajuraho inscription credits Yasovarman with victories in states which were far outside the Candella dominion and he is also mentioned as a "scorching fire to the Gurjaras". All these facts indicate that Yasovarman had become virtually, if not completely, independent, and there can be little sense in mentioning a disgraced Pratihara ruler as 'protecting the earth' in the inscription of a dynasty which had recently obtained independence. Dhanga's empire, according to the inscription of A.D. 954, stretched from Bhasvat to Tamasa and from Yamuna to Narbada, and even the fort of Gopagiri was in his possession. In fact, large portions of the original Pratihara kingdom were captured by Dhanga. These claims make it even more improbable that Dhanga would mention a king who had died at least 8 years earlier as the great protector of the earth. There can also be no practical reason for mentioning a weak contemporary Pratihara ruler, if we accept Dr. N. R. Ray's hypothetical Vinayakapala II.

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[8] JOL, Vol. X, pp. 60-61.
[9] HOK, p. 273.
[10] IA, Vol. LVII, pp. 230-234.

Considering these circumstances, we are inclined to believe that the Vinayakapaladeva of the Khajuraho, inscription of A.D. 954 was no other than Dhanga himself. It is significant that all the Candella kings excepting Dhanga and Ganda have Sanskritic names, e.g. Vidyadharadeva, Yasovarmadeva, Harsadeva, Vijayapaladeva, etc. The name Dhanga was probably a nickname or a popular name, by which the king, for some reason or other, was widely known. It may be pointed out that in the same inscription, Yasovarman is mentioned as Laksmavarman. The name Nannuka for Candravarman may be regarded as another such instance.

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[11] EI, Vol. I, p. 122, line 10.

In all the Candella inscriptions the founder of the dynasty is called Nannuka, though we have good reason to believe that his other name was Candravarman.[12] In support of our identification, it may be pointed out that the verses 44 and 45 of this Khajuraho inscription mention Dhanga as " firmly establishing his upright rule over the earth " and as " ruling the earth playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms."[13] A later Candella inscription records that he defeated the king of Kanyakubja and obtained exalted sovereignty.[14] The ruler of the Kacchapaghatas, who claims to have defeated the Pratihara ruler and captured Gwalior, was, as will be discussed below, probably a subordinate ally of Dhanga. All this evidence suggests that Dhanga defeated the Pratihara ruler sometime before A.D. 954 and declared independence. The fact that Dhanga does not assume full imperial titles, viz. Pb. M. P. Pm, should not be regarded as a conclusive evidence of his dependence in A.D. 954. In some of their later inscriptions, the Candella kings do not assume these titles, but are simply referred to as Nripa, Kshitipa or Sri, though they were fully independent.

The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 gives an account of the extent of Dhanga's empire. It says that Dhanga was ruling the earth " playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kalanjara and as far as Bhasvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river Malava ; from here to the banks of the river Kalindi, and from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country, and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (Gopadri) which is the unique abode of marvel ".[15] Kielhorn identified Bhasvat with Bhaitasvamin, the modern Bhilsa.[16] Dr. Ray makes certain interesting observations on this verse. He says that expression 'as far as Kalanjara' shows that Kalanjara was not the capital of the Candellas at that time. As the earliest inscriptions of the dynasty come from Khajuraho, and Ibn-ul-athir refers to Vidyadhara (Dhanga's grandson) as the ruler of Khajuraho, Dr. Ray thinks that Khajuraho was the first capital of the Candellas. In the inscription of A.D. 998, Dhanga is given the epithet 'Kalanjaradhipati ; the first use of the title by a Candella king. This, Dr. Ray rightly thinks, indicates "the possession of one of the strongest hill forts of India, which in an age ignorant of artillery, made his position almost impregnable".[17]

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[12] Supra, pp. 15-16.
[13] EI, Vol. I, p. 134.
[14] EI, Vol. I, p. 197, vs. 3.
[15] EI, Vol. I, p. 129, vs. 45.
[16] EI, Vol. I, p. 124.

Gopagiri is no doubt modern Gwalior, and from its mention in the inscription, scholars believe that Gwalior was within Dhanga's empire. Kacchapaghata inscription claims that one Vajradaman of the dynasty had by honest means put down the "rising valour of Gadhinagara i.e. (Kanyakubja)", and "his proclamation-drum which fulfilled his vow of heroism, resounded in the fort of Gopadri, conquered in battle by his irresistible strong arm".[18] This Vajradaman is identified with the *Maharajadhiraja* Vajradaman of a fragmentary Jain image inscription of Gwalior dated in v.s. 1034 (A.D. 977).[19] The Pratihara ruler defeated by Vajradaman was probably Vijayapala.

As Gopagiri was in the possession of the Candellas about this time, Dr. Majumdar believes that "Vajradaman had defeated both the Candella king Dhanga and his Pratihara overlord who also joined him in defending this stronghold. Probably after this ignominious defeat Dhanga shook off even the nominal suzerainty of the Pratiharas." Dr. Majumdar elsewhere says that the Candellas captured

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[17] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 679.
[18] IA, Vol. XV, pp. 36, 41 vs. 6.
[19] PASB, Vol. XXI, pt. VI, pp. 293, 399-400.

Gwalior from the Pratiharas and thus obtained a secure footing in the very heart of the Pratihara empire.[20] We can hardly imagine that the Pratihara ruler came to the help of a feudatory in the defence of a fort which the latter had captured from him by force only a few years earlier. It is also unlikely that a powerful king like Dhanga could have been defeated by petty Kacchapaghata ruler. Neither the Candella nor the Kacchapaghata records refer to any such conflict between the two dynasties. Dr. Ray thinks that after the conquest of Gwalior, Vajradaman at first enjoyed some measure of sovereignty, but that he soon had to acknowledge the rising power of his more powerful eastern neighbour, the Candellas.[21] But Dr. Tripathi's suggestion that Vajradaman was a local feudatory chief of Dhanga, whom he assisted in the conquest of Gwalior,[22] seems more satisfactory and this contention has been strengthened by Mr. S. K. Mitra in a recent article.[23] Nizamuddin's reference to the ruler of the fort of Gwalior as Hakim at the time of Sultan Mahmud's invasion in A.D. 1022 indicates that the Kacchapaghatas of Gwalior continued to be feudatories of the Candellas, at least up to the reign of Vidyadhara Candella.[24]

The growth of the Candella kingdom at the expense of the declining Pratiharas is evident from other inscriptions. The Nanyuara Plate of Dhanga of A.D. 998 records that Dhangadeva when at Kasika (Banaras) gave the village of Yuetti to one Yasodhara in the year V.S. 1055, when there was an eclipse.[25] Banaras had been within the Pratihara empire, and Dhanga must have wrested it from them by this time. A later inscription informs us that Dhanga gave up his life by drowning himself at Prayaga (Allahabad) when he had attained his hundredth year,[26] which shows that Prayaga was also included in his kingdom. Further evidence is derived from the Mau Stone inscription of Madanavarman, which says "a king named............., who, having defeated on the battlefield the king of Kanyakubja (who had) subdued all princes, obtained exalted sovereignty."[27] Though the name of the king is missing from the verse "there can be no doubt that the king here spoken of is Dhanga, whose name would fit well into the metre." Moreover, the next verse records that from this king sprang Gandadeva, who, as we know from other inscriptions, was the son of Dhanga.[28] Thus, by A.D. 1002 Dhanga had completely humiliated the imperial Pratiharas and the supremacy of northern India had shifted from the Pratiharas to the Candellas.

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[20] AI, pp. 307, 322.
[21] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 823.
[22] HOK, p. 278.
[23] IHQ, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, pp. 88-93.
[24] Infra, p. 54.
[25] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 204.

A Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 1002 states that, "He (Dhanga) was so powerful that the rulers of Kosala, Kratha, Simhala (Ceylon) and Kuntala humbly listened to his commands", and he was so successful in his wars that "the wives of the kings of Kanchi, Andhra, Radha and Anga lingered in his prisons."[29] According to Cunningham, these claims are "more than usually fulsome and ridiculous", and he added that Dhanga might have been a powerful king, but it is quite preposterous to make his sway extend over the greater part of south India.[30] Undoubtedly, Dhanga's claim of overlordship over the king of Simhala is an idle boast. But it is evident from these verses that either before or after his assumption of imperial authority, Dhanga

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[26] EI, Vol. I, p. 146, vs. 55.

[27] EI, Vol. I, p. 197, vs. 3.

[28] EI, Vol. I, p. 197, vs. 4.

[29] EI, Vol. I, p. 145, vs. 45-46—"Kratha was a country in the peninsular portion of India, possibly near modern Berar"—DHNI, Vol. II, p. 680, fn. 3.

[30] ASR, Vol. II, pp. 451-452.

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turned his attention to the conquest of principalities lying to the east and south-east of his paternal kingdom, viz: Anga (North Bengal), Radha (Burdwan and Birbhum districts of West Bengal) Kosala (north-west part of Orissa and Central Provinces), Andhra and Kuntala (Central Deccan) and may have raided them.[31]

An inscription of Kirtivarman gives us interesting information about Dhanga's relations with the Moslems. The inscription praises Dhanga as "blessing for the earth, ... who caused the destruction of his enemies and who, by the strength of his arms, equalled even the powerful Hamvira".[32] The term Hamvira is a corruption of the Arabic word Amir (commander or leader). It came to be used in the sense of a king or high official of the state, and as such we find it used also in the Sanskrit legends on some of the gold coins of Muhammad bin Sam (Md. Ghori). The term Hammira, Hamira, or Hamvira, was to the Indians, the accepted title for a Muhammadan prince, during the period A.D. 1000—1300.[33] The inscription of Kirtivarman therefore seeks to compare Dhanga with a contemporary Moslem ruler. Most historians identify this Hamvira with Sabuktagin (A.D. 976-997) relying on an account of Firishta, which says that Jayapala, the Sahi ruler of Bhatinda, was helped with troops and money by neighbouring Rajas, particularly those of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjara, and Kanauj, in his fight against Sabuktagin.[34] They think that the Candella inscription refers to this incident. This view is supported by the assumption that since Dhanga died before A.D. 1002 he must have been the contemporary of Sabuktagin only. Dr. Ray does not agree with this view and believes that the Hamvira referred to is Sultan Mahmud. He suspects the veracity of Firishta and points out that neither Utbi, Ibn-ul-Athir, nor Nizamuddin mentions any particular king or country by name. His chief argument is based on the contention that inscriptional evidence does not specifically maintain that Dhanga died in A.D. 1002. On the contrary, the fact that he lived for 100 years implies that he survived much longer after A.D. 1002. In the inscription of Dhanga of A.D. 1002 (renewed by Jayavarmadeva in V.S. 1173), the original lines 32-33 end with the words "The year 1059 V.S.; at the glorious Kharjuravahaka, in the realm of the illustrious Marakatesvara is completed." (El, Vol. I, p. 147). It is clear from these lines that Dhanga was alive in A.D. 1002. Dr. Ray argues that "the fact that line 29, vs. 55 refers to the death of Dhanga, only proves that the record in question was re-arranged and re-written when it

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[31] The Idra Copper-plate of Nayapaladeva was issued from the capital of Priyangu, founded by the king Rajyapala. This place lay in Daksina-Radha, in Bengal. So it is clear that the family of the Palas ruled in Radha. Mr. N. G. Majumdar reads an epithet of king Rajyapala of this record as "Kambojavamsa-tilaka" *i.e.* "an ornament of the Kamboja clan"—EI, Vol. XXII, p. 152). But Mr. J. C. Ghose reads this epithet as "Kamboja-Dhangu-atiparah", i.e. "an inveterate foe of Kamboja and Dhangu". Mr. Ghose identifies this Dhangu with Dhanga Candella. He points out that as in the inscription of A.D. 1002, Dhanga claims to have thrown into prison the wives of the kings of Kanci, Andhra, Radha and Anga; it is thus very natural for Rajyapala, the ruler of Radha, to describe Dhanga as his foe. He places Rajyapala's reign in the first part of the 10th century and argues that as Dhanga lived for 100 years he was a contemporary of Rajyapala. Mr. Ghose says that "After Radha, Dhanga names Anga, which shows that Anga also was an independent country at that time. He makes no mention of Magadha, which country he must have had to pass through to return to his kingdom. This probably shows that he was friendly with the Pratiharas who occupied that province."—EI, Vol. XXIV, pp. 43-45. The main objection to Mr. Ghose's view is that Dhanga ruled in the second half of the 10th century and could not possibly have been king at the same time as Rajyapala. Moreover, it is in an inscription of the 11th century (A.D. 1002) that Dhanga claims success over Radha. In his inscriptions of A.D. 954 and 998 no such claim is made.

[32] EI, Vol. I, p. 221, vs. 17.

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[34] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 18.

of the wives of Hammira, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth".
by the streams (of water flowing) from the clouds in shape of the eyes
records that Prince Vijayacandra "swept away the affliction of the globe
—EI, Vol. XXIV, p. 292.
[33] DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 681-682. A Gahadavala inscription of V.S. 1237,

was renewed after more than a hundred years by Jayavarmadeva in V.S. 1173."[35] It is also significant that the inscription which refers to Dhanga's death does not mention any successor. Dr. Ray points out that it was only after the battle of A.D. 1008 that Anandapala of the Sahi dynasty lost his life and kingdom. Thereafter Sultan Mahmud occupied Punjab and the road to the upper Gangetic valley was opened. It was only then that Hamvira could be described as one who had proved a heavy burden for the earth. Dr. Ray concludes by saying that "if Dhanga really fought and was defeated by Hamvira, we should expect a discreet silence from the poets living at the court of his successors."[36]

Dr. Ray's view is based on reliable evidence and his arguments are very reasonable. While accepting his view on the date of Dhanga's death, we need not, however, entirely disbelieve Firishta's account that among others, the ruler of Kalanjara helped Jayapala against Sultan Mahmud. No doubt Firishta has exaggerated, but it is quite possible that Dhanga and other rulers may have sent a contingent of their army or some other token help to Jayapala in A.D. 989. Dhanga had an unusually long reign and he was the contemporary of both Sabuktagin and Sultan Mahmud. Firishta says that Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kanauj, Delhi, Ajmer and Kalinjar "entered into a confederacy" with Anandapala in A.H. A.D. 399 (A.D. 1008) against Sultan Mahmud for "they considered the expulsion of the Mohammedans from

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[35] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 682, fn. 5. The vs. 55 of the inscription of A.D. 1002 says, "When Dhanga had ruled the whole earth over which he alone held sway, and had lived rather more than a hundred years, he abandoned the body in the waters of the Ganges and the Yamuna and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra and muttering holy Prayers". EI, Vol. I, p. 146, vs. 55. Vaidya says that "Dhanga in extreme old age (about 100 years) burnt himself on a pyre of cow-dung cakes at the holy confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayaga." Vaidya does not mention the source of this account.—MHI, Vol. II, p. 179.

[36] DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 682-683.

India as a sacred duty ".[37] Firishta, as usual, has exaggerated his facts, but it is not impossible that Dhanga helped the Sahi ruler Anandapala in A.D. 1008, as he helped his father Jayapala a few years earlier. The Hindu rulers no doubt considered the expulsion of the Moslem invaders a necessity, but, unfortunately, the history of the period shows that struggle for dynastic supremacy stood in the way of any concerted and whole-hearted attempt to expel the common enemy.

It is clear from the above discussions on Dhanga's reign that he was a very powerful king and was the greatest ruler of his time. He had firmly consolidated his position in central India, and many other states in the east, west and southern parts of his kingdom felt the weight of his arms. He was not only the builder of an empire, but, as will be shown in a later chapter, a great patron of art and architecture. The claim of the Mau inscription that Dhanga obtained exalted sovereignty (samrajya) is not an idle boast. Undoubtedly the mantle of imperialism had fallen from the Pratiharas upon the shoulders of Dhanga Candella.

(ii) Ganda (c. A.D. 1008—1017)

Dhanga's son and successor was Gandadeva. No inscription of this king has yet been discovered and his name is only known from a few later inscriptions of the dynasty, which accord to him some common praise. An inscription of Kirtivarman says that from Dhanga " there sprang an ornament of the earth, called the illustrious Ganda, an unrivalled hero, who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms."[38] Another inscription calls him " a ruler of the earth in the four quarters, expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride."[39]

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[37] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 46.

[38] EI, Vol. I, p. 219, vs. 19.

[39] EI, Vol. I, p. 203, vs. 4.

No definite information of his reign is available from these verses. It is not even known when he began his reign and when he died, though an approximate idea of his reigning period is possible. We know that his son and successor Vidyadhara was ruling in A.D. 1019, and it is possible that Vidyadhara succeeded two years earlier, i.e. A.D. 1017. If the suggestion that Dhanga died some time after A.D. 1008 be accepted, we have for Ganda a short reign of eight or nine years from about A.D. 1008-1017. Ganda is identified by many scholars with the Indian prince Nanda, mentioned by some Moslem historians, who fought with Sultan Mahmud in A.D. 1019 and 1022. As will be shown later, this identification is not correct, and the Nanda of the Moslem historians was not Ganda, but his son and successor Vidyadhara.

(iii) Vidyadhara (c. A.D. 1017—1029)

An inscription of Kirtivarman records that Ganda's son and successor was Vidyadhara, "who gathered the flowers of the fame of his enemies."[40] Vidyadhara was the most powerful ruler of his time and his reign marked the zenith of Candella supremacy. Unfortunately, we have no inscription of his reign and for an account of his time we must rely on Moslem records, and inscriptions of later Candella princes and their allies. The Moslem historians give a detailed account of Sultan Mahmud's conflict with Vidyadhara, which was the most important event of his reign and of the history of north-western and central India at that time.

Ibn-ul-Athir records that in the year 409 A.H. (A.D. 1019) "Yamin-ul-Daulah started on an expedition towards India, and he made larger preparations than he had done before. The reason of all this preparation was that when he had conquered Kanauj and its ruler, called the Ray, had fled away......and Mahmud returned to Ghazna, Bida the accursed, who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory and had the largest armies, and whose territory was named Kajuraha, sent messengers to the Ray of Kanauj, who was named Rajaypal, rebuking him for his flight and surrender of his territories to the Mussalmans. A long quarrel ensued between them, which resulted in hostilities ; and as each of them prepared to fight the other, they marched out and met and fought and Rajaypal was killed and most of his soldiers also perished ; and this success added to the mischief and refractoriness of Bida, and his fame spread throughout India. Then one of the rulers of India whose territory had been conquered by Yamin-ud-Daulah, and whose armies had been routed, went to Bida and entered his service and sought protection. He (Bida) promised to restore to him his country and to protect him, but he made the coming of winter and the continuous fall of the rains an excuse. Now when this news reached Yamin-ud-Daulah he was disturbed and prepared for fight."[41] Other Moslem historians like Nizamuddin, Gardizi and Firishta, mention the Candella king as Nanda instead of Bida.[42]

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[40] EI, Vol. I, p. 219, vs. 20.

Many scholars, finding that there was no ruler in the Candella dynasty bearing the name of Nanda, thought that it must have been a mistake for Ganda, Vidyadhara's father and predecessor. Cunningham said, "In cursive Perisan characters Nanda may easily be misread for Ganda".[43] According to Smith, this transformation was due to an accidental omission of a stroke in the Persian texts and he believed that Ganda was alive at this time and Vidyadhara

[41] Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-116 ; DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 604-605.
[42] De, p. 12 ; DHNI, Vol. I, p. 604, fn. 4 ; Briggs, Vol. I, p. 63.
[43] ASR, Vol. II, p. 452.

was the Crown Prince.[44] Dr. Majumdar, Dr. Tripathi and Vaidya accept the identification of Nanda with Ganda.[45] Dr. Ray does not agree with this view, which he thinks incorrect for many reasons. Firstly, Ibn ul Athir names the killer of Rajyapala as Bida and as Ibn ul Athir lived within a century of the death of Mahmud, his statement must be accepted as more reliable than the later accounts of Nizamuddin and Firishta. Secondly, by a comparison of the letters Bida, Nanda and Ganda, Dr. Ray tries to show that Bida can be corrupted into Nanda much more easily than Ganda, and from an account of Ganda's reign it does not appear that he was the powerful king who put up strong opposition against Sultan Mahmud. Lastly, Dr. Ray points out that in Indian inscriptions the credit of defeating Rajyapala is given to Vidyadhara or Vida ; and since Mahmud's expedition in A.D. 1019 was a reply to the defeat and assassination of Rajyapala, Vidyadhara must have been the Candella king at that time.[46] These arguments seem quite acceptable and are strengthened by the fact that the Tabakat-i-Nasiri agrees with Ibn ul Athir in giving the name of the Hindu opponent of Mahmud as Bida.[47] It must, however, be noted that in Gardizi's account, which is earlier than Athir's, the king of Kalanjara is called Nanda. It is possible that Ganda was still officially the Candella king, but was too old to take any part in the affairs of the state and his son Vidyadhara was ruling the country. As Dhanga lived for more than one hundred years his son Ganda must have succeeded to the throne in old age and could not possibly have ruled for long. The question whether Ganda was alive at the time of Mahmud's invasions is of little importance, as we know beyond doubt that it was Vidyadhara with whom Mahmud actually had to fight. It may be that the Moslem historians confused the two names in compiling their chronicles.

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[44] JRAS, 1909, pp. 279-280.
[45] JOL, Vol. X, pp. 73-74 ; HOK, p. 286 ; DHI, Vol. II, p. 85.
[46] DHNI, Vol. I and II, pp. 606, 692.
[47] Raverty, Vol. I, p. 86.

The history of the time may be constructed on the authority of the Moslem accounts as follows. About A.D. 1017, Sultan Mahmud attacked the Pratihara kingdom of Kanauj and compelled its ruler Rajyapala to enter into a humiliating treaty, including recognition of Moslem supremacy. But as soon as Mahmud had left the country, the Candella ruler Vidyadhara picked a quarrel with Rajyapala for submitting to the Moslem invaders and killed him, which resulted in Mahmud's invasion of the Candella kingdom in A.D. 1019.

In support of this we have the evidence of an Indian inscription, which was set up at Dubkund near Gwalior, by the Kacchapaghata ruler Vikramasimha in V.S. 1145 (A.D. 1088). This inscription informs us that Arjuna, one of the predecessors of Vikramasimha, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyadharadeva, fiercely slew in a great battle the illustrious Rajyapala, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neckbones.[48] Kielhorn placed Arjuna's rule some time between V.S. 1060 and 1090 and identified Vidyadharadeva of this inscription with the Candella Vidyadhara. He identified Rajyapala with the Pratihara ruler Rajyapala, mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilocanapala in the Jhusi Copper Plate of V.S. 1084 (A.D. 1027) (I.A. XVIII, 34).[49] Those identifications have been accepted by all scholars, and a later Candella inscription discovered at Mahoba, also maintains that, "Vidyadhara caused the destruction of the king of Kanauj."[50] This took place before A.D. 1019, when Sultan Mahmud left Ghazni with the object of destroying the presumptuous Vidyadhara.

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[48] EI, Vol. II, p. 237, lines 11-12.
[49] EI, Vol. II, pp. 235-36.
[50] EI, Vol. I, pp. 219, 222, vs. 22.

The story of the conflicts which followed was recorded by Ibn ul Athir, Nizamuddin and other Moslem historians. According to Athir's account, Mahmud, on his way from Ghazni, chastised the Afghans, passed through the narrow passes in their country and gradually reached the Ganges and crossed it. "After that he hastened on and on his way he heard about a king of India called Parujaypal. He fled before him and sought the shelter of Bida, so that the latter might protect him. Mahmud traversed stages after stages and overtook Parujaypal and his followers on the 14th of Shaban ; between him and the Hindus there was a deep river. Some of his followers crossed the river and reached the enemy, and engaged him in battle. Then he himself with the remainder of his army also crossed over, and they fought for the greater part of the day, and Parujaypal and his followers were defeated, a large number being slain and captured ..... Their king fled, wounded, and he did not know what to do. So he sent a message to Yamin ud Daulah requesting peace. But Mahmud refused and did not agree to any conditions except acceptance of Islam and slew innumerable of his soldiers. Barujaypal started to meet Bida but some of his Hindus surprised him and killed him (Barujaypal)".[51] After this incident the Moslem army plundered Bari and started in pursuit of Bida. Mahmud overtook him on the bank of a river and came in touch with his army. According to Athir, "Yamin ud Daulah sent a party of his infantry to fight him, and Bida also sent out against him a smaller number, and both the armies continued reinforcing their soldiers till the two opposing forces increased in numbers and the battle became vehement. At last the night overtook them and parted them". The next morning, however, Mahmud found the battlefield deserted, each party of the Hindu army having gone a different way. Mahmud plundered the Candella camp and went in pursuit of the Hindu army. He overtook them in forests and thickets and slew and captured a large number, but 'Bida escaped single-handed and Yamin ud Daulah returned victorious to Ghazna'.[52]

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[51] Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-116 ; DHNI, Vol. I, p. 605.

The cause of Mahmud's invasion as given by Nizamuddin is the same as in the account of Ibn ul Athir, though the king who opposed and was defeated by Mahmud on his way to the kingdom of the Candellas is called Naro Jaipal. But the actual narrative of the conflict given by Nizamuddin differs considerably from Ibn ul Athir's account. According to Nizamuddin, after defeating Naro Jaipal, Mahmud advanced towards the kingdom of Nanda. "The latter prepared for battle and collected an immense army. It is said, the army consisted of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers and 390 elephants. When the Sultan encamped in front of Nanda's army he first sent an envoy to him, and invited him to submit and to accept Islam. Nanda refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After this the Sultan went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at and make an estimate of the strength of Nanda's army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming, and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the Giver of all Mercies. In the night a fear fell on the heart of Nanda, and he fled with a few special companions, leaving the army and all the munitions of war behind".[53]

"The next morning when the Sultan heard this, he mounted his horse, and after having all the places where the enemy might be in ambush carefully searched, examined the traces of the hostile army, and when he was satisfied that no deception or treachery was intended, he stretched out his hand for destruction and plunder. Immense quantities of booty fell into the hands of the army of Islam. They also accidentally found 580 elephants belonging to the army of Nanda in a wood, which were included in the booty".[54] Gardizi and Firishta give a similar account of the conflict.[55]

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[52] Bulak, 1874, Vol IX, p. 216; DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 690-691.
[53] De, p. 12.

The difference between the accounts of Ibn ul Athir and Nizamuddin is clearly evident. According to Ibn ul Athir, a hotly contested battle took place until night parted the two parties, and, under the cover of night, Vidyadhara with his army retreated leaving Mahmud to plunder at his will. But according to Nizamuddin, there was no fight between the two armies and Nanda, overwhelmed with fear, fled at night. Dr. Ray takes Ibn ul Athir's account to be more reliable and believes that there was a fierce though indecisive battle between the armies before Vidyadhara made a strategic retreat in the night.[56] Ibn ul Athir's account seems to be more authentic than that of Nizamuddin, especially because in A.D. 1022, Mahmud had to undertake a second expedition against Vidyadhara, which shows that the issue was not decided in A.D. 1019. Nizamuddin's account of Nanda's sudden fear and flight as if in answer to Mahmud's prayer to Allah, is typical of the exaggerations often made by Moslem chroniclers for the greater glory of Islam.

The name of the king who opposed Mahmud on the bank of the river Rahib is differently given as Baru Jaypal, Paru Jaypal, Taru Jaypal, Naru or Naro Jaypal by various

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[54] Ibid, pp. 12-13.
[55] IHQ, Vol. IX, pp. 938-939. Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 63-64.
[56] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 691.

Moslem historians. Smith identified this king with Trilocanapala, the son and successor of Rajyapala, the Pratihara king.[57] Dr. Ray has pointed out that the name Trilocanapala might be corrupted in Arabic script in Baru, Paru, Taru and Naru Jaipal.[58] We think that Trilocanapala referred to by the Moslem historians was the son and successor of the Sahi ruler Anandapala, whom he succeeded in A.D. 1009. In his account of the battle between Mahmud and Vidyadhara, Firishta says that the "King of Lahore, who had so often fled before his (Mahmud's) troops, was now encamped on the opposite bank". The king is not mentioned by name, but Firishta states that he was the grandson of Jaipal.[59] Anandapala was defeated and lost his kingdom to Mahmud in A.D. 1008. His son Trilocanapala must have been waiting for an opportunity to revenge the defeat of his father and regain independence. With this object in mind he solicited the help of the powerful Candella king and opposed Sultan Mahmud in A.D. 1019. This incident is mentioned by the Moslem historians. Unfortunately, as we have seen, Trilocanapala's attempt to regain his kingdom failed, and he was defeated and killed in course of his fight against Sultan Mahmud.

Dr. Muhammad Nazim thinks that after the Pratihara ruler Rajyapala was defeated and killed by Vidyadhara, the former's son Trilocanapala was raised to the throne of Kanauj and became an ally of Vidyadhara. On his way to the Candella kingdom in A.D. 1019, Mahmud was opposed by the other Trilocanapala, the son of the Sahi ruler Anandapala, to whom Vida had promised to win back his ancestral kingdom. This Trilocanapala tried to join his namesake in Kanauj but failed in his attempt and was assissinated by his own men.[60] From the Jhusi inscription,[61] we know that Trilocanapala was the successor of Rajyapala, and one naturally assumes that the former succeeded to the throne of Kanauj with the help of Vidyadhara. Trilocanapala is evidently mentioned as the son and successor of Rajyapala in the Jhusi inscription[62] and therefore it seems that a son was in alliance with the murderer of his father, though such a happening is not impossible.

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[57] JRAS, 1909, pp. 279-280.

[58] DHNI, Vol. I, p. 602.

[59] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 6' ; In the text (p. 52) the king is mentioned as Raja of Punjab and not Lahore. And in the translation the information that the king was the grandson of Jaipal is not given. I am grateful to Dr. Hardy for the translation from the text.

Speculating on the causes of Mahmud's retirement to Ghazni instead of completely destroying Vidyadhara's power, Cunningham said that Mahmud retired because "he was doubtful of the result, and like a prudent general, he went back to Ghazni to return with a large force."[63] Nizamuddin and Ibn ul Athir are silent on this point, but Firishta states that since Mahmud was not happy about his rearward communications, he was satisfied with what he had done that year and returned to Ghazna.[64] Perhaps the vast army collected by Vidyadhara had some effects on Mahmud's policy and he was both afraid to go too far and apprehensive of his way back through Punjab. These two considerations probably induced Mahmud to return to Ghazni and wait for a suitable time in the near future for a second expedition.

Sultan Mahmud invaded the kingdom of Vidyadhara for the second time in A.D. 1022. Nizamuddin gives the following account of the expedition—"In the year 413 A.H. he (the Sultan) again invaded the kingdom of Nanda, and when he reached the fortress of Gwalior, he laid siege to it.

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[60] LTOSG, pp. 94-95.
[61] IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 34.
[62] Ibid.
[63] ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 23-24.
[64] Text, p. 53 ; this is not mentioned in Briggs' translation.

At the end of four days, the commandant of the fort sent envoys, and offering a tribute of 35 elephants prayed for protection. The Sultan accepted the terms, and advancing to the fort of Kalanjar, which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnability, besieged it. The siege lasted for a considerable time, when Nanda, the ruler of the fort, offered 300 elephants as a tribute and begged for safety. When the elephants were let loose from inside the fort, without any drivers, the Sultan ordered that the Turks should catch hold of them and mount them. The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle, and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks. Nanda then sent some verses, which he had composed in the Hindi tongue, in praise of the Sultan. The latter showed them to eloquent men of Hindustan, and other poets who were in attendance on him. They all praised them. The Sultan sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of the 15 fortresses and other presents in return for them. Nanda also sent much treasure and precious gems for acceptance of the Sultan. From that place the Sultan returned (to Ghaznin) with victory and triumph."[65] Firishta and Gardizi give a similar account of this expediton, but the latter mentions payment of Jizya as one of the terms agreed to by Vidyadhara.[66]

In Tarikh ul Kamil no such expedition by Mahmud in 413 A.H. is mentioned. But in A.H. 414 Mahmud is said to have conquered a strong Indian fort situated on the top of a high mountain containing sufficient water and provisions and 500 elephants.[67] Dr. Ray identifies this fort with Kalanjara, and suggests the correction of the date by a year.[68] Vaidya does not think that Kalanjara was invaded by Mahmud for the second time but believes that the Candella kingdom was attacked only once, after the killing of Rajyapala. The course of events, according to him, was that in Mahmud's expedition against Kanauj in A.D. 1019, Rajyapala did not submit but fled to Bari. In his next expedition Mahmud led an army against Rajyapala and Bari, and conquering him in the battle of the Rahib, accepted his submission on condition of payment of tribute (March 1021). In May, Rajyapala was attacked and killed by the Candella king and his allies. Mahmud learnt this at Lahore in March 1022 ; he invaded Gwalior and Kalanjara in December 1022, and exacted submission from both in January 1023. In Vaidya's view, Ganda was not craven-hearted as he is made to appear.[69] This reconstruction of the events of this period does not tally with the evidence of the Moslem historians and we do not think there is any sound reason to disbelieve the accounts of Nizamuddin and Firishta in respect of the second invasion.

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[65] De, p. 14.
[66] IHQ, Vol. IX, p. 941.
[67] Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, p. 124 ; DHNI, Vol. II, p. 693, fn. 1.
[68] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 693, fn. 1.

The foregoing discussions reveal that for an account of the conflict between Sultan Mahmud and Vidyadhara, its causes and consequences, we have to depend almost entirely on the works of the Moslem historians. These writers are inevitably biassed and their accounts are highly exaggerated and partial. In the absence of any Hindu account of the conflict, no comparative study of the situation and the ultimate success or failure of either side is possible. From the Moslem accounts Vidyadhara emerges as a king with a great army and a vast kingdom, but very weak and cowardly by nature. Smith said that Mahmud invaded the Candella territory expecting to encounter vigorous resistance. But the Candella king, " who had punished with death the pusimillanimity of Rajyapala, was himself equally deficient in courage, and could not harden his heart to face the fierce warriors of Islam."[70] Many scholars doubt the authenticity of the Moslem accounts and do not think that Mahmud had everything his own way, or that the Candella ruler was a worthless coward. Dr. Majumdar says, "The Candellas appear to have adopted a 'scorched earth policy' and retreated before the Muslim army without offering any battle. The Sultan, afraid of penetrating too far into the interior, had each time to retreat without much gain, and ultimately established a friendly relation with Vidyadhara, who had thus the unique distinction of being the only Indian ruler who effectively checked the triumphal career of Sultan Mahmud and saved his kingdom from wanton destruction by that ruthless conqueror."[71] Dr. Ray thinks that Mahmud could not repeat the devastating success which he obtained against the Gurjara-Pratiharas. In two invasions he could not capture Kalanjara and his campaign ended in "mutual gifts and compliments which appear to have been euphemistically represented by his historians as 'tribute'."[72]

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[69] DHI, Vol. II, p. 86.

It is usually believed that Mahmud invaded the Candella kingdom in A.D. 1019, to revenge the murder of Rajyapala of Kanauj. According to Smith, "Mahmud was furious when he heard at Ghazni of the punishment inflicted upon the prince whom he regarded as a feudatory, and resolved to take speedy vengeance on the audacious confederates."[73] This view is not accepted by Dr. Ray, who criticises Smith for relying entirely on Nizamuddin and disregarding other Moslem accounts. Dr. Ray points out that Utbi assigns this expedition to Mahmud's ambition and love of plunder and never states that Rajyapala submitted to Mahmud after his escape from Kanauj. Dr. Ray further argues that Ibn ul Athir makes it clear that Vidyadhara attacked Rajyapala for the latter's flight and surrender of his territories to the attack of the Moslems, and not for becoming a feudatory of the Yaminis. From Ibn ul Athir's account it is evident that the cause of Mahmud's expedition was not Vidyadhara's attack on the Kanauj prince, but Vidyadhara's intention of attacking the territory conquered and annexed by Mahmud in India.[74]

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[70] JRAS, 1909, p. 279.
[71] AI, p. 351.
[72] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 693.
[73] JRAS 1909, pt. I, pp. 278-79.

In criticising Smith's disregard for Utbi and reliance on Nizamuddin, it seems Dr. Ray himself has relied too much on the evidence of Utbi and Ibn ul Athir. We think that Mahmud was induced to invade India in A.H.410 (A.D.1019) not by any one motive only. He had two objectives, to destroy the power and prestige of Vidyadhara, which the Candella king had gained by defeating and killing Rajyapala, and his love of plunder and the accumulation of wealth. A study of the atttiude of the Candellas towards the Moslems from the time of Dhanga, reveals the key to the situation. After the disintegration of the Pratihara empire, the Candellas had gradually become the most powerful dynasty in north-west India. The defeat and death of the Sahi kings, Jayapala and Anandapala, opened the way for Moslem invaders into central India. The alarm caused by the Moslems in the minds of the Candellas is reflected in a later inscription of the dynasty, which says that 'Hamvira (the Moslem chief) had proved a heavy burden on the earth'.[75] They were naturally anxious to remove the burden and this explains Dhanga's help to the Sahi rulers. Ganda had a very short reign, but he apparently succeeded in maintaining the kingdom left by his father. Vidyadhara was an ambitious and powerful king who started where Dhanga had left off. Vidyadhara succeeded in gaining supremacy over the Kalacuris and the Paramaras, the two most powerful dynasties of that time.[76] He now wished to try his strength with the Moslems and to consolidate his supremacy firmly by championing the causes of the kings defeated by Mahmud. With this object in mind, he attacked Rajyapala, whose flight before Mahmud without a fight amounted to submission, and placed Trilocanapala on the throne of Kanauj. This success, according to Moslem writers, considerably increased the power of the Candella ruler, so much so that he promised to help Trilocanapala, son of the Sahi ruler Anandapala, in winning back his ancestral kingdom from Sultan Mahmud. These actions of Vidyadhara naturally enraged Mahmud, and this, together with his love for wealth and plunder, resulted in the conflict between Mahmud and Vidyadhara. Thus it is clear that Mahmud's invasion of A.D. 1019 was not just one of his many raids, but the culmination of a series of events. As to the result of the conflict, it is evident that the first invasion of Mahmud did not prove decisive since he had to launch a second expedition. This time Vidyadhara preferred diplomacy to war and the two came to an agreement, the terms of which were definitely in favour of Sultan Mahmud. Even making allowances for the exaggerations of the Moslem historians, one can hardly say that the conflict ended in "mutual gifts and compliments", and Vidyadhara, though not completely defeated, could not gain the success he desired.

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[74] DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 606-607.
[75] EI, Vol. I, p. 221, vs. 17.

Vidyadhara's conflicts with Sultan Mahmud are very well known and are recorded in Moslem histories which are easily accessible. There is, however, evidence to show that these were not the only events of his reign. A later inscription of the dynasty says that "Bhojadeva, together with Kalacuri-Chandra (i.e., the moon of the Kalacuris) worshipped, full of fear, like a pupil, (this) master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the king of Kanyakubja, and who was lying on a couch".[77] This Bhojadeva was no doubt the contemporary Paramara king Bhoja of Malwa (c. A.D. 1010-1055), who seems to have been forced to acknowledge for the time the supremacy of the Candella ruler. After completing his expedition in the south, Bhoja turned his eyes on his northern neighbours. But it was very difficult for him to gain success in the north until the forces of Vidyadhara had been shattered. This led Bhoja to attack the Candella kingdom, but without success.[78]

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[76] EI, Vol. I, p. 219, vs. 22.

We have already seen that the Kacchapaghatas of Dubkund were subordinate to the Candellas at that time, and Arjuna, a prince of the dynasty, had killed the Pratihara Rajyapala to please Vidyadhara. In the Sasbahu inscription of Kacchapaghata Mahipala of Gwalior, a prince of the dynasty named Kirttiraja, is said to have defeated the Malavabhumipa, i.e. the king of Malava. The inscription says, "When that (Malava prince) had met with defeat, the villagers surrounded their houses with the multitude of spears which through fear had fallen from the hands (of his soldiers) in every direction."[79] As Mahipala of this inscription (A.D. 1093) is the fourth in lineal descent from Kirttiraja, Dr. Ray assigns Kirttiraja to the period c. A.D. 1005—c. 1035. This makes Kirttiraja a contemporary of Vidyadhara and Sultan Mahmud, and Dr. Ray thinks that it was Kirttiraja who commanded the fort of Gwalior at the time of Mahmud's invasion in A.D. 1022. He further suggests that the reference by Nizamuddin to the prince of Gwalior at the time of Mahmud's invasion as Hakim and the statement that Mahmud reached the fort of Gwalior after invading the territories of Nanda, indicate that the ruler of Gwalior was subordinate to the ruler of Kalanjara. He also believes that Kirttiraja's success against the Paramara ruler was achieved with the help of the mighty Candella king.[80]

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[77] EI, Vol. I, p. 219, 221-222, vs. 22.
[78] HOPD, p. 104.
[79] IA, Vol. XV, p. 36, vs. 10.

The Kalacuri-Candra mentioned in the Candella inscription was identified with the Kalacuri ruler Kokalla II,[81] and this is accepted by Dr. Ray.[82] Dr. D. C. Ganguly and Vaidya, however, identify him with the Kalacuri ruler Gangeyadeva.[83] This identification has been supported by the discovery of a stone inscription of Gangeyadeva at Mukundpur, nine miles south-west of Rewah. As this inscription is dated in the Kalacuri year 772, i.e. A.D. 1019, and if the reading of the inscription, which has not yet been published, is correct, there can be no doubt that Gangeyadeva was a contemporary of Vidyadhara. Dr. Mirashi, who has noted this inscription, says "In this inscription Gangeyadeva bears the title of *Maharha-maha-mahattaḳa* together with another which is probably Maharaja. Now *Mahamahattaḳa,* was a title assumed by petty chiefs and ministers. Even with the prefix Maharha it cannot be said to be equivalent to Maharajadhiraja. It is plain therefore that in A.D. 1019 Gangeyadeva was subordinate to some other power." He then refers to the Candella inscription claiming Vidyadhara's supremacy over the Kalacuris, and, he adds that "In A.D. 1019 Gangeyadeva held a subordinate position of the Candella emperor Ganda, the father of Vidyadhara."[84] In accepting the view of Dr. Mirashi it must be pointed out that Gangeyadeva must have been subordinate to Vidyadhara and not to Ganda, otherwise why should the Candella inscription praise Vidyadhara for this success, instead of his father ? Vaidya thinks that Bhoja and Gangeyadeva were in league with Vidyadhara in the task of opposing the Moslems and driving them out of central India, and both of them sent contingents in the war against Kanauj, which acted under the orders of Vidyadhara.[85]

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[80] DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 824-825.

[81] EI, Vol. I, p. 219.

[82] DHNI, Vol. II, 689-690.

[83] HOPD, p. 104, fn. 1 ; DHI, Vol. II, p. 180.

[84] Bh., Annals, XXIII, 1942, p. 296.

No further information on Vidyadhara's reign is available and we do not even know when it came to an end. Dr. Ray thinks that the friendship between Sultan Mahmud and Vidyadhara, established in A.D. 1022, continued until A.D. 1029[86] In that year, according to Al-Bundari and the Rahatus-Sudur, Sultan Mahmud seized one of his enemies' (Seljuqs) sons and interned him in a fortress in India called Kalanjar, where after languishing in captivity for seven years, the prisoner died.[87] If this be so, we may fix c. A.D. 1029 as the last possible date of Vidyadhara's reign.

[85] DHI, Vol. II, pp. 180-181.

[86] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 693.

[87] Browne, Literary History of Persia, 1915, p. 170. Dr. Ray, however, thinks it more likely that this Kalanjar is the Kalinjara of Kalhana and Kalunjur of Firishta, stituated on the frontiers of Kashmir. DHNI, Vol. II, p. 693, fn. 3.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY FROM C. 1030 TO C. 1129 A.D.

THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE ; TEMPORARY RESTORATION BY KIRTIVARMAN.

(i) Vijayapala (c. A.D. 1030—c. 1050)

Vidyadhara's son and successor was Vijayapala.[1] No inscription of his reign has been discovered but he cannot have ruled before A.D. 1022, the last known date of his father Vidyadhara,[2] or after A.D. 1051, the first known date of his successor Devavarmadeva.[3] We get no information of Vijayapala's reign from the inscriptions, in which he is simply praised as a brave and courageous king. One inscription credits him with putting an end to the Kali age[4] but, ironically, we have other evidence to show that the decline of the Candellas started from his reign.

We have already seen that the Kalacuri ruler Gangeyadeva and Bhoja Paramara were contemporaries of Vidyadhara, and acknowledged his supremacy. Gangeyadeva ruled from A.D. 1019 to A.D. 1041, which makes him a contemporary of Vijayapala as well as of Vidyadhara. This is supported by an undated Candella inscription from Mahoba which states that "When Gangeyadeva, who had conquered the world, perceived before him (this) terrible one (Vijayapala)........the lotus of his heart closed the knot (i.e. the flower) of pride in battle."[5] Gangeyadeva, according to the Jabbalpore Copper Plate of Yasahkarnadeva (A.D. 1112), "fond of residing at the foot of 'the holy fig-tree of Prayaga', found salvation there together with his hundred wives."[6] Gangeya was one of the greatest Kalacuri kings, and it is clear from the inscriptions that, after the death of Vidyadhara, the Kalacuris, who had so long acknowledged Candella supremacy, succeeded in reversing the situation. Prayaga was said to be in the kingdom of Dhanga,[7] but the mention of the place in the Kalacuri inscription shows that the Candellas had lost it, probably during the weak reign of Vijayapala. The reference to Gangeyadeva as the lord of the universe in the Candella inscription also suggests the Kalacuri ruler's supremacy over the Candellas. The success of the Kalacuris over the Candellas during Vijayapala's reign was not complete, for, as will be seen later, during the reign of Gangeya's successor Karna, the Candella kingdom was completely overrun by the Kalacuris, and for a time the Candellas virtually lost their independence.

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[1] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 205, lines 1-3 ; Vol. XVIII, p. 238, lines 2-3 ; EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 26.

[2] The date of the second invasion of Kalanjara by Sultan Mahmud.

[3] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 206.

[4] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 6.

[5] EI, Vol. I, p. 222, vs. 24.

During Vijayapala's reign, the Candellas probably also lost the control which Vidyadhara exercised over the Kacchapaghatas of Gwalior. Kirttiraja, who helped Vidyadhara in his fight against Sultan Mahmud, was succeeded by his son Muladeva, also known as Bhuvanapala and Trilokyamalla.[8] Dr. Ray believes that Muladeva's "sudden assumption of two additional names and the statement in the Sasbahu epigraph that 'his body was decorated with the irreproachable marks of a universal sovereign' may indicate his freedom from the hegemony of the Candellas"; and he rightly thinks it likely that Muladeva, taking advantage of the defeats of the Candellas by the Kalacuris, asserted complete independence.[9]

The decline of the Candellas also affected their relations with the Kacchapaghatas of Dubkund. Arjuna, who was a subordinate of Vidyadhara, was succeeded by his son Abhimanyu, of whom the Dubkund inscription says that, "Having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious (he) valued other princes as lightly as a straw. Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella?"[10] The Bhoja, so highly praised in the verse, is identified with the great Paramara ruler Bhojadeva. Dr. Ganguly believes that Bhoja entered into an alliance with Abhimanyu on the eve of his northern expedition, and that the latter's help was a great asset to the Paramara ruler.[11] As Bhoja (c. A.D. 1010—1055) must have survived Vidyadhara by at least a few years, Dr. Ray reasonably suggests that, "taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyadhara's successors, Bhoja, may have extended his influence in the north up to Dubkund ; and the statement of the Prasastikara possibly contains a veiled reference to Abhimanyu's subservience to the great Paramara."[12]

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[6] EI, Vol. II, p. 4, vs. 12.
[7] Supra, p. 46.
[8] IA, Vol. XV, pp. 36, 42, vs. 12, 13; p. 202, vs. 1.
[9] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 825.

Thus, in spite of the absence of any direct evidence, we have reason to believe that immediately after the death of Vidyadhara, there was a change in the fortunes of the Candellas. The empire founded by Dhanga and expanded by Vidyadhara showed visible signs of decline during this period. But the misfortune of the dynasty was not yet complete, and in the next few years the situation turned for the worse, and for a time the Candellas suffered a complete eclipse.

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[10] EI, Vol. II, p. 233.
[11] HOPD, p. 105.
[12] DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 830-831.

(ii) Devavarman (c. 1050—c. 1060)

In an inscription dated V.S. 1107 (A.D. 1051) of the Candella dynasty, the ruling prince is named Devavarmadeva, son of Vijayapala and grandson of Vidyadharadeva.[13] The inscription names the mother of Devavarmadeva as Bhuvanadevi.[14] In later Candella inscriptions, the name of Devavarmadeva is omitted from the family genealogy. These inscriptions mention Kirtivarman as the son and successor of Vijayapala.[15] As Devavarmadeva in his own inscription is also mentioned as a son of Vijayapala, it is clear that Kirtivarman and Devavarman were brothers. But the omission of the latter's name from all Candella inscriptions seems very strange and suspicious. In fact, until recently, but for the contemporary inscription of Devavarman himself which is dated A.D. 1051, we should not have known that a king of that name had ruled at all. Lately, however, another inscription of his reign has been discovered, dated in V.S. 1108, i.e. A.D. 1052.[16]

According to Cunningham, the strange omission of Devavarman in the Candella inscriptions was either due to his childlessness or to the suppression of his children by Kirtivarman.[17] Dr. Jaidev has rightly ruled out the first alternative of Cunningham by pointing out that kings without children are mentioned in inscriptions, and he refers to Rajyavardhana, Harsa's elder brother, who, though childless, is not omitted from the genealogical list.[18] The second alternative of Cunningham seems more probable, and there is evidence to support this assumption. The Nanyaura inscription of Devavarman supplies no information of his reign, but the Charkhari Plate, dated a year later, probably, contains, as we shall see, a veiled reference to the gloomy affairs of the time. As will be seen in the following pages, we know from literary and epigraphic records that the reign of Devavarman was one of the darkest chapters in the history of the dynasty. The Candellas were completely defeated by the great Kalacuri king Laksmikarna, probably in the year A.D. 1051, and became almost a feudatory of the Kalacuris, until the fortune of the dynasty was revived by Kirtivarman a few years later.

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[13] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 206.

[14] Ibid.

[15] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 7, p. 291, 222, vs. 23-26, IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 38, lines 2-3.

[16] EI, Vol. XX, p. 127.

[17] ASR, Vol. X, p. 24.

[18] P. ch. Thesis, pp. 42-43.

(iii) Kirtivarman (c. 1060—c. 1100)

Devavarman was succeeded by Kirtivarman. The Mau Stone inscription states that from Vijayapala was born Kirtivarmadeva, "who was as though virtue itself descended there......to destroy the sin of the Kali age ......"[19] Another Candella inscription says that from Vijayapala sprang the illustrious Kirtivarman, who was endowed with all the virtues of Bharata.[20] Kirtivarman is generally regarded as a younger brother of Devavarman, and for the omission of the latter's name from Kirtivarman's inscriptions it is suspected that Kirtivarman's accession to the throne was not a peaceful one. The Sanskrit drama Prabodha-candrodaya allegorically represents the conflict between the step-brothers Viveka and Mahamoha, and the play ends with the triumph of Viveka. This allegory may well allude to the conflict between Devavarman and Kirtivarman.[21] The inscriptions of the family make no mention of any political achievement to the credit of Vijayapala and Devavarman. Moreover, they omit the name of Devavarman, as if he was of no importance. That the period was one of decline is clear from a study of the contemporary literary and epigraphic evidence.

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[19] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 7.
[20] EI, Vol. I, p. 222, vs. 25.
[21] P. ch. Thesis, p. 44.

We have already seen that the decline of the Candellas had started immediately after the death of Vidyadhara. Not only had they lost supremacy over other dynasties, but also had suffered humiliation from the Kalacuris and had practically become their subordinates. We get no direct information about Devavarman's reign. But the recently discovered Copper Plate of Devavarman probably reflects the gloomy situation. After praising the king in the customary way, the inscription states, "Realising that life is like the womb of Rambha, and that Fortune is tremulous like lightning and having learnt from the Srutis that life is like a bubble of water, and youth is like a drop of water on a blade of grass and that, as one lives but a short time, there is no satisfaction in passion ; And reflecting for a long time that Dharma (Religion) is the only friend, for, if the hundred years of men's lives are measured out, half are taken by the night, and of this half another half passes in childhood and the rest is taken up by the preoccupations of sickness, old age and death ; since life is transitory as a wave of water, whence is there happiness for living beings ? Realising that the law of the universe is impermanence" the king donates the land to the Brahmins at certain time and place.[22]

The doctrine, that life is impermanent and achievements in earthly life are insignificant, is not new in Indian inscriptions. But this inscription of Devavarman does not merely mention this fact in passing according to the usual convention, but it definitely strikes a note of pessimism and despair, and shows that the king lacks confidence in life. In his inscription of V.S. 1107, i.e. only one year earlier, no such pessimism or emphasis on the impermanence of life is to be found, which suggests that between 1050 and 1051 Devavarman suffered defeat and disgrace at the hands of some powerful enemy, with subsequent loss of self-confidence. We know from other sources that the king who defeated and humbled the Candellas was the mighty Laksmikarna Kalacuri, (c. 1042-1070) the son and successor of Gangeyadeva.

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[22] EI, Vol. XX, p. 127.

The most important of all the evidence is the contemporary Sanskrit drama named "Prabodha-candrodaya" written by Krishna Misra, at the instance of Gopala, described as the crest-jewel of the whole body of vassals (*sakala-samanta-cakra-cudamani*), and staged in the very presence of the king Kirtivarman.[23] In this drama Gopala is compared with the Man-lion and Boar incarnation of Visnu, and is credited with raising up the earth, " when it had sunk in the waters of destruction, poured down upon its sovereigns."[24] This passage suggests that, like Visnu, Gopala was a saviour. As Visnu saved Prahlada from the clutches of Hiranyakasipu and the Goddess Earth from Hiranyaksa, so did Gopala save the Candella kingdom in the time of crisis.[25] The enemy who caused such a disaster was the Kalacuri ruler Karnadeva, referred to in the play as the Lord of Cedi. In the drama, the Sutradhara says, " His (Gopala's) anger was roused to re-establish the sovereigns of the race of the moon, who had been dethroned by the Lord of Cedi, the Rudra and Fire of destruction of all Royal families of the earth."[26] Another passage refers to Gopala's victory over the armies of the confederacy of kings and of Karna and compares Gopala with Madhumathana who obtained Laksmi by churning the ocean. Gopala is also credited with causing the rise of Kirtivarman, just as discrimination, having overcome strong delusion, gave rise to knowledge.[27]

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[23] I, p. 10.
[24] I, p. 11, Trans. Intd. p. xii.
[25] Pc. ch. Thesis, p. 38, fn. 1.
[26] I. p. 19, Trns. Intd. p. xiv.

It is thus sufficiently clear that the fortunes of the Candellas had suffered a serious decline during this period, and were restored by Kirtivarman with the assistance of his vassal Gopala. One passage says that "Gopala, whose glory fills the universe, who, aided by his sword as his friend, conquered the lords of men and invested with the sovereignty of the earth Kirtivarman, the chief of princes."[28] Gopala is also said to have been employed in the *digvijaya vyapara* of Kirtivarman.[29] Gopala was thus the real saviour of the Candellas and Dr. Jaidev says, "The drama hints that Gopala, after his great victory which resulted in the establishment of the supremacy of Kirtivarman and also peace in the land, gave up war and took to pursuit of philosophy, probably under the guidance of Krishna Misra."[30]

Later epigraphic evidence also supports the above account. A Candella inscription from Mahoba states, "Just as Purosottama (Vishnu), having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain (Mandara) the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Laksmi together with the elephants (of the eight regions), he (Kirtivarman) having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Laksmikarna, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants".[31] An inscription of Viravarman records, " In that (race) there was a ruler over the earth whose fame was sung by the Vidyadharas, (who was) the pitcher born (Agastya) in swallowing that ocean Karna (and) the lord of the creatures in creating anew the kingdom,—the illustrious Kirtivarman ".[32] The Dubkund inscription of Kirtivarman records, " when Fortune, withdrawn from (other) princes, just as (she was recovered by Vishnu) from the sea came to him who appeared like a new Vishnu, without his club, (or free from disease, healthy) she left off (her) fickleness ".[33] This verse also probably refers to the restoration of Candella fortune by Kirtivarman.

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[27] I. pp. 20-22.

[28] I. p. 15, Trns. Intd. p. xiii.

[29] I. p. 12.

[30] Pc. ch. Thesis, p. 38. Cunningham took the word Gopala as another name of Vishnu, and believed that Kirtivarman freed the Candellas from the subjection of Karnadeva by the favour of Visnu (ASR. Vol. II, p. 453). This is not correct and there can be no doubt that Gopala was the Brahman general of Kirtivarman. Throughout the play and in the inscriptions of the dynasty Vishnu is never invoked as Gopala.

[31] EI, Vol. I, p. 222, vs. 26.

The defeat of Devavarman at the hands of the Kalacuris is also referred to by Bilhana, who describes Karna, the lord of Dahala, as " the death to the lord of Kalanjara mountain ".[34] This statement of Bilhana, according to Dr. Ray, may indicate that one of the predecessors of Kirtivarman lost his life in the wars with the Cedis.[35] Dr. Ray's assumption may be correct but the term may not necessarily mean the actual death but may only imply the defeat of the ruler of Kalanjara. " Death " is commonly used in inscriptions in this sense.

It is interesting to note that from the reign of Kirtivarman the series of Candella coins begins. These coins are copies of the coins of the Cedi ruler Gangeyadeva, and may thus be regarded as further evidence of Kalacuri occupation of the Candella kingdom.

There is a difference between the accounts given in the inscriptions and that in the Prabodha-candrodaya. In the drama, the full credit for reviving the Candella empire is given to Gopala; in the inscriptions to king Kirtivarman himself. But the substance of the story is the same. During the reign of Vijayapala, the Candellas suffered a definite loss of power, and in the reign of Devavarman, they were forced to accept the hegemony of Kalacuri Karnadeva (c. 1042-1070). It was from Karnadeva that Kirtivarman, with the help of his powerful vassal Gopala, succeeded in recovering the independence of the kingdom. The Prabodha-candrodaya was composed and staged at a time when the power and prestige of Gopala was very high in the Candella kingdom, after he had won back independence for Kirtivarman. Naturally, the drama praises Gopala, the saviour of the kingdom, for his great achievement, and the newly raised king Kirtivarman also had to acknowledge the power and greatness of his vassal. But the inscriptions which refer to this incident were composed after half a century or even more. It is quite natural for these to give all the credit for the victory to the royal ancestor (Kirtivarman), and to be silent on the part played by his vassal. Even in the inscriptions of Kirtivarman himself, dated in A.D. 1090 and 1097, no mention of Gopala's assistance is made, which suggests either that after he had consolidated himself on the throne, Kirtivarman no longer readily acknowledged the past services of Gopala, or that the latter's influence had waned by that time.

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[32] EI, Vol. I, p. 327, vs. 3.
[33] IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 239, vs. 3.
[34] Vikramanka Deva Carita, edtd. by Buhler, XVIII, 93.
[35] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 698.

The precise date of Kirtivarman's success over Karnadeva is not known. The earliest possible date may be guessed from the consideration of the circumstance that until A.D. 1050 or some time after, the Paramara king Bhojadeva of Malwa occupied a position of predominance in northern India, which was lost to a combination of the contemporary princes between c. 1050—1055 A.D. It was only after the death of Bhoja that Karna became irresistible, and overran the Paramara kingdom among others. So Karna's defeat could not possibly have come before A.D. 1055. The latest possible date may be inferred from the fact that by A.D. 1073, Karnadeva had already abdicated the throne.[36] So Karna must have been defeated sometime between c. 1050 and 1072. This range of twenty years can be further narrowed. Bhimadeva I Caulukya and Udayaditya Paramara are two of the five kings who claim victory over Karna.[37] Bhimadeva ceased to rule from A.D. 1064, and Udayaditya succeeded to the Paramara throne in A.D. 1059.[38] As the downfall of Karna was brought about by an alliance of the Candellas, Paramaras, Caulukyas, Palas and Calukyas, we may safely assume that Karna was defeated between the years 1060 and 1064. As Kirtivarman Candella's accession to the throne was followed by his struggle for independence, this was also probably the time when he succeeded his brother Devavarman.

The defeat of Karnadeva was an event of far-reaching importance. Epigraphic records of contemporary Indian rulers show that four other princes claim victory over Karnadeva. It is clear that Karna waged many wars against his neighbours, and, for a time, the weight of his arms was felt by many other dynasties. According to the Nagpur Prasasti, Bhoja's successor Udayaditya Paramara (1059—1087) freed the land from the dominion of Karna, who, joined by the Karnatas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean.[39] The grammarian Hemacandra praises Bhimadeva I of the Caulukyas (1021—1064), for gaining victory against Karna in battle.[40] Bilhana records the defeat of Karna by the western Calukya king Somesvara I (c. 1040—1069).[41] The

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[36] EI, Vol. XII, p. 207.

[37] EI, Vol. I, p. 238, vs. 19-22 ; EI, Vol. II, p. 181, vs. 32-34 ; Ibid., p. 303.

[38] DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 875-876.

[39] EI, Vol. II, p. 181, vs. 32-34.

[40] EI, Vol. II, p. 303.

[41] Vikramankadeva-carita, I. pp. 102-103.

Pala king of Bengal, Vigrahapala (c. 1055—1081) is also reported to have obtained a victory over Karna.[42] It seems therefore that five contemporary Indian rulers, including Kirtivarman of the Candella family claim victory over the same enemy. A study of the circumstances leads to the conclusion that the ascendency of the Kalacuri ruler rankled in the minds of other Indian princes, so that a coalition among the latter was formed. This resulted in the downfall of the short-lived Kalacuri supremacy of northern India.

A little more information of Kirtivarman's reign is available from other inscriptions. In the Deogadh Rock inscription of A.D. 1098, Vatsaraja, the chief minister of Kirtivarman, is recorded as having wrested the surrounding districts from the enemy and built the fort Kirtigiri.[43] Kielhorn identified Kirtigiridurga with Deogadh itself.[44] In an inscription of Bhojavarman, Kirtivarman is described as the crest jewel of the princes in the Pitalasaila or yellow mountain districts. This territory has not yet been identified.[45] In an inscription of Jajjaladeva of Ratnapura, it is said that the rulers of Kanyakubja and Jejakabhukti considered Jajjaladeva as a friend.[46] Kielhorn identified the ruler of Jejakabhukti with Kirtivarman.[47] We think that the Candella ruler mentioned is more probably Sallaksana, the successor of Kirtivarman. The honourable mention of the Candella king in the inscription of another dynasty, suggests that the prestige of the Candellas had greatly revived and that their friendship was valued by other kings. In the Kasia Stone inscription of the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur, Sivaraja I, a prince of the dynasty, is described as one "who was more successful even than

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[42] Ramacarita, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 22.
[43] IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 238.
[44] Ibid.
[45] EI, Vol. I, p. 333, vs. 9.
[46] EI, Vol. I, p. 35, vs. 21.
[47] Ibid, p. 34.

Kirti."[48] The Kirti mentioned here has not been identified, but Dr. Ray reasonably suggests that he may have been Kirtivarman Candella, "who by defeating the mighty Karnadeva and recovering his territories appears to have performed one of the sensational military achievements of the period."[49]

Dr. Majumdar says that Sultan Ibrahim's son Mahmud, who was appointed Governor of the Punjab in A.D. 1075, advanced further into the interior and captured Kanauj and Agra, but failed to take Ujjain and Kalanjara, which were successfully, defended by the Paramaras and the Candella rulers.[50] We, however, have found no evidence of a Moslem invasion of Kalanjara during Kirtivarman's reign, and no other scholar refers to any such incident, though Mahmud's invasions of Kanauj, Agra and Ujjain are well known.

Two inscriptions of Kirtivarman's reign have been discovered, which are dated A.D. 1098 and 1090.[51] We have already discussed the probable date of Kirtivarman's succession. No inscriptions of his successor Sallaksanavarman have been found, and the next known Candella inscription is that of Dhanga, renewed by Jayavarmadeva, the successor of Sallaksanavarman in A.D. 1117. Kirtivarman had a very long reign, and we may reasonably fix c. A.D. 1100 as his last possible date.

(iv) Sallaksanavarman (c. 1100—c. 1115)

Kirtivarman was succeeded by his son Sallaksanavarman. The Mau Stone inscription records that Sallaksana "always kept the enemies awake by the weight of his prowess" and he was "a leader of those versed in sacred lore, a kinsman of the virtuous, a store of arts, an abode of good conduct, and a tree of paradise to all suppliants for support." He is also praised because, "taking away the riches of his enemies and bestowing them on (all) his people of good family, he far removed the sad poverty."[52]

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[48] EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 137, vs. 18.
[49] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 750.
[50] AI, p. 367.
[51] IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237-239; ASR, 1935-36, pp. 93-94.

The above verses are customary eulogy, but two other verses of the same inscription, probably refer to Sallaksanavarman's war in the Ganges-Jumna Doab (Antarvedi-visaya). The fragmentary verses 38 and 39 record, "Then the lord Sallaksanavarman......again in the country of Antarvedi......", utterly defeated by the excess of his heroism, were made to prostrate themselves at the feet of his master; having cleared the country of thorns (and) dissipated the fears of the subjects, he in an unparalleled manner increased their treasure and power."[53] Kielhorn thought that the person credited with the victory in these verses is one of the officers of Sallaksanavarman.[54]

As this claim of successes in Antarvedi is not corroborated by any other inscription, Cunningham believed that this victory of Sallaksanavarman was only a successful raid.[55] Dr. Ray says, "If Sallaksana's objective in invading the Ganges-Jumna Doab was to capture Kanauj, he may have come into conflict with the Rashtrakuta prince Gopala or one of his predecessors who ruled over the city about the period." Dr. Ray believes that the attempts of the Candellas to control the Doab probably proved abortive.[56] We, however, take a different view of the situation and it will be shown later that the Gahadavalas at this time were trying to penetrate into the southern regions of the Doab and this brought them in conflict with the Candellas. The above verses probably refer to

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[52] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 9-10.
[53] Ibid, p. 201.
[54] EI, Vol. I, p. 206, fn. 75.
[55] ASR, Vol. II, p. 453.
[56] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 702.

Sallaksana's successful opposition to the aggression of the rulers of Kanauj rather than his own raid in the Doab.

Sallaksanavarman is also reported to have gained success over the Paramaras and the Cedis. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of Viravarman states that his sword "took away the fortune of the Malavas and Cedis."[57] The contemporary Paramara king was most probably Naravarman (c. 1097—1111). Dr. Ray thinks that, as the revived Candella power was extending its influence on the Betwa, it is possible that Sallaksana may have carried out successful raids in Malwa from the Kirtigiri-durga.[58] Laksmikarna's son and successor Yasah-karna (c. 1073—1125) must have been the Cedi ruler whom Sallaksana defeated. According to Dr. R. C. Banerjee, by A.D. 1120, "not only Kanauj but the land between the Ganges and the Jumna also had passed out of the control of the descendants of Karna."[59] It seems that Sallaksana, like his father Kirtivarman, gained victory over the Kalacuris who were on the decline after the death of the mighty Karna. Thus, Sallaksana evidently succeeded in maintaining the Candella empire revived by his father Kirtivarman.[60]

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[57] EI, Vol. I, p. 327, vs. 4.

[58] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 702.

[59] MASI, Vol. 23, p. 26.

[60] A very fragmentary inscription of 32 lines, written in Nagari characters of about the twelfth century, was found in the walls of the ruined fort of Jhansi. Line 2 of the inscription refers to the Ganges as the resting place of Kanyakubja. Lines 5 and 6 mention two chiefs, the elder of whom became king. Lines 7, 8 and 10 record the building of a tank, a temple and a grove by some other chiefs. Line 20 mentions the name of Prince Kirtivarman who is protected from somebody. Line 21 speaks of three kings, one of whom is Kirtivarman. Line 23 mentions the son of one illustrious Satyavati, who perhaps defeated one Ganapala, and did something to Udayaditya, the lord of Avanti. Line 30 mentions the illustrious Sallaksanasimha, who was probably engaged in battle with the troops of the Yavanas, which evidently means the Moslems. Kielhorn identified Kirtivarman with the Candella king of that name, but he did not think it reasonable to identify Sallaksanasimha with the Candella king Sallaksanavarman, or to assign the inscription to the Candellas. EI. Vol. I, pp. 214-217. The identification with the Candella king Kirtivarman is very reasonable. As Kirtivarman's and Udayaditya Paramara's dates are

(v) Jayavarman (c. 1115—c. 1120)

The Ajaygadh inscription of Viravarman states that after Sallaksanavarman "the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom, whose only glory was victory."[61] The only epigraphic record of Jayavarmadeva is the Khajuraho Stone inscription dated in V.S. 1173 (A.D. 1117) which constitutes an appendix to a longer inscription of king Dhanga.[62] This renewed inscription neither mentions the kings who ruled between Dhanga and Jayavarmadeva, nor records any achievement of the latter. It is clear that Jayavarman's reign was not very successful, and a Kalanjara inscription indicates that Jayavarman "being wearied of government" abdicated the throne in favour of his successor.[63] The weariness of Jayavarman probably indicates that he suffered at the hands of the Gahadavala ruler Govindacandra. An inscription of Govindacandra, dated in V.S. 1177 (A.D. 1120) has been found in the village of Chattarpur near Sheorajpur, a small town 21 miles north-west of Kanpur.[64] Chattarpur is known to have been in the Candella kingdom, and the discovery of this Gahadavala inscription in Chattarpur suggests that by about A.D. 1120 Govindacandra had conquered this portion of Candella territory.

Another slab of stone, stated to have come from Dudhai in the Lalitpur district contains a very fragmentary inscription in 9 lines in the script of about the 12th century A.D. In line 5 one Raja Candra is mentioned and Kusasthalapuri or Kanauj is mentioned in line 8 of the inscription. Dr.

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very close to the approximate date of Sallaksanavarman and in the absence of any other king named Sallaksana ruling at that time, we are inclined to identify the Sallaksanasimha of the inscription with Candella king Sallaksanavarman. But this identification is of very little importance because the inscription is so fragmentary that it is of very little historical value.

[61] EI, Vol. I, p. 327, vs. 4.

[62] EI, Vol. I, p. 147.

[63] JASB, Vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 318-319, vs. II.

[64] EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 224.

Chakravarty, who notices the inscription, says, "one would thus feel tempted to ascribe the inscription to the Gahadavalas of Kanauj, but we know from other inscriptions at Dudhai that the place was under the Candellas in about the 11th century A.D. But as the present record is later in date it may be that the Candellas lost hold of this part of the country about the time of the inscription."[65] This inscription also supports our assumption that at the beginning of the 12th century the Gahadavalas tried to expand their territories in the southern parts of their kingdom. Sallaksana probably succeeded in resisting the Gahadavala aggression, but, during the reign of Jayavarman, Govindacandra Gahadavala succeeded in occupying some portions of the Candella kingdom. Jayavarman naturally felt distressed and disgraced for his failure in maintaining the kingdom, and abdicated in favour of his uncle Prithvivarman.

(vi) Prithvivarman (c. 1120-1129)

The Mau Stone inscription of Madanavarman says that "after Jayavarmadeva, the king Prithvivarman, the co-uterine younger brother of the illustrious king Sallaksanavarman, bore, equal to the task, the burden of the hereditary government."[66] It is thus clear that uncle succeeded the nephew and Smith suggested that Jayavarman left no capable issue."[67] Nothing is known about Prithvivarman, and the Mau Stone inscription only says that, "Prithvivarman hated the ill-behaved, delighted the worthy people, spent money on good causes, protected all beings and secured propriety of conduct."[68] It does not seem that he succeeded in restoring the position of the Candellas, and it was left for his son and successor Madanavarman to revive and expand the empire again.

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[65] ASR, 1936-37, p. 93.
[66] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 12.
[67] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 129.
[68] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 13.

CHAPTER V

MADANAVARMAN TO FINAL COLLAPSE

(c. 1130—1308)

(i) Madanavarman (c. 1129—. 1163)

Prithvivarman was succeeded by his son Madanavarmadeva. More than twelve inscriptions, which are dated between A.D. 1129 and 1163, and many coins of his reign have been discovered. In spite of their large number, we do not get much information from these inscriptions and coins, but we can form some idea of Madanavarman's reign and his achievements on the evidence of these records and those of other dynasties.

The Mau Stone inscription of Madanavarman claims that even before his name, the Cedi king ever quickly fled, vanquished in fierce fight, and through dread of Madanavarman the king of Kasi always passes his time engaged in friendly pursuits. The verse also states that the arrogant ruler of Malava was quickly exterminated by Madanavarman, and other monarchs enjoyed supreme comfort by paying homage to him.[1]

The Cedi king defeated by Madanavarman was either Gaya-karna (c. 1125—1151) or his son Narasimhadeva (c. 1155—1170) for both of whom we have epigraphic and literary evidence.[2] Dr. Ray rightly suggests that the discovery of 48 silver coins of Madanavarman in a village named Panwar of the Teonthar Tahsil of the Rewah State[3] indicated that Baghelkhand, to the north of the Kaimur range, was probably annexed by the Candellas.[4] Narasimhadeva succeeded Gayakarna on the Kalacuri throne. Two inscriptions of this king have been discovered, one in a hill called Lal-Pahad, near Bharhut in the Nagodh district, Vindya Pradesh, dated in A.D. 1158[5] and another near the foot of Alha-Ghat, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the tableland of Rewah to the plain of the Ganges", dated in A.D. 1169.[6] Dr. Ray believes that the find spots of these two inscriptions indicate that the Kalacuris had probably by this time recovered some portions of Baghelkhand from the Candellas.[7] This is possible, for, as we shall see later, during the closing years of his reign, Madanavarman was busy fighting with the Gahadavalas in the north, and probably could not give much attention to the south-eastern parts of his kingdom.

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[1] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 15.

[2] IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 209-211, EI, Vol. II, pp. 7-17 ; IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211-13, 214 ; DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 790-794.

[3] JASB, 1914, pp. 199-200.

[4] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 791.

Madanavarman's claim to success over the king of Malava indicates that there was an extension of Candella power in the south-west, over lands which had belonged to the Paramaras. This claim is further supported by the Augasi grant of Madanavarman, which was found in the Banda district, U.P. In this grant Madanavarman is recorded as having granted a piece of land from his residence near Bhailasvamin (modern Bhilsa) to a certain Brahmin, in the year A.D. 1134.[8] Madanavarman obviously gained success over the Paramaras in the early years of his reign, and the Paramara king defeated was most probably Yasovarman (1134—1142). The reign of Yasovarman was disastrous for the Paramaras, and besides the Candellas, the Paramara king was also defeated by the Cahamanas, the Caulukyas, and by a king named Vijayapala, holding an independent posjtion over the territories that lay 50 miles north east of Ujjain.[9]

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[5] IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211-213 ; ASR, Vol. IX, pp. 1, 94, plt. II.
[6] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 115, plt. XXVIII ; IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213-214.
[7] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 794.
[8] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 202, pp. 207-210.

According to Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, the Candellas could not long retain their possessions in the Paramara territory, which was reconquered by Yasovarman's son Laksmivarman, some time before A.D. 1153.[10] Dr. Chakravarty's assumption is based on the Ujjain grant of Laksmivarman dated V.S. 1200 (A.D. 1153), in which he confirms a grant made by his father Yasovarman in V.S. 1191, in the Mahadvadasaka mandala.[11] Kielhorn could not identify the localities mentioned in the inscription, but Dr. Chakravarty suggests that "Mahadvadasaka mandala must have comprised Udaypur, and Bhilsa in the Gwalior State as far as Raisien (Rajasayana) to the south in the Bhopal State." He further strengthens his identification by referring to the Udaipur Stone inscription of V.S. 1229, which calls it the "Bhaillasvami-mahadvadasaka mandala".[12] He believes that Mahadvadasaka-mandala, adjacent to Bhailasvamin, temporarily passed out of the hands of the Paramaras and was reconquered by Laksmivarman some time before V.S. 1200, and this necessitated the re-issuing of his father's grant of V.S. 1191.[13] Dr. Chakravarty's identification and suggestion seem quite reasonable and, like the Kalacuris, the Paramaras may also have succeeded in winning back their lost territories by taking advantage of Madanavarman's wars in the north.

The conflict between the Gahadavalas and the Candellas which started at the beginning of the 11th century, seems to have continued in the reign of Madanavarman. The Kasiraja who is said to have spent his time in friendly behaviour in fear of Madanavarman, was no doubt Govindacandra (c. 1114-1155). We have already noticed that Chattarpur was annexed by Govindacandra from the Candellas at some time about A.D. 1120. But the discovery of an inscription of Madanavarman in Chattarpur, dated in A.D. 1147, shows that he had recaptured the lost territories from the Gahadavalas by that date. This inscription, "incised on the pedestal of an image of Santinatha", has been noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravary.[14] During the later years of his reign, however, Madanavarman probably had to suffer defeat at the hands of the Gahadavalas. In the preface to the drama named *"Rambhamanjari-natika"* by Nayacandra Suri, Jayaccandra is referred to as a new incarnation of Rama, "whose mighty arm is like a pillar to tether the elephant of fortune of king Madanavarmadeva".[15] This indicates that Jayaccandra defeated Madanavarman and checked his growing power. But Jayaccandra could not have been the Gahadavala ruler at the time of Madanavarman, for the latter ceased to rule before A.D. 1165, the first known date of his grandson Paramardideva,[16] whereas Jayaccandra's reign began about A.D. 1170.[17] Mr. Reu solves this problem by suggesting that the victory mentioned above was gained by Jayaccandra, while he was a prince regent during the reign of his father Vijayaccandra (1153-1170).[18] The conflict with Jayaccandra, the Gahadavala crown prince, was probably the reason why the Candellas lost some of their possessions in Kalacuri and Paramara territories during the closing years of Madanavarman's reign. This statement in the *Rambhamanjari* and other epigraphic evidence prove that the traditional view that Paramardi was helped by Jayaccandra in his war with Prithviraja Cahamana is not correct. We shall discuss this point in fuller detail later, while dealing with the Candella-Cahamana relations in the reign of Paramardideva.

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[9] JBRAS, Vol. XXV, pp. 322-324 ; IA, Vol. VI, p. 50 ; DHNI, Vol. II, p. 883-87 ; HOPD, pp. 164-170.

[10] EI, Vol. XXIV, p. 230.

[11] IA, Vol. XIX, pp. 351-353.

[12] EI, Vol. XXIV, p. 231.

[13] Ibid, pp. 230-231.

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[14] ASR, 1935-36, p. 94.
[15] Rambhamanjari, Act I, pp. 5-6: HOK, p. 324.
[16] EI, Vol. IV, pp. 153-170.
[17] HOK, p. 321.
[18] JRAS, 1932, pp. 13-14.

Both Candellas and Caulukyas were interested in gaining territories at the expense of the declining Paramaras. The powerful Caulukya king Jayasimha Siddharaja (1094—1143) overran and virtually annexed most of the Paramara territories and this brought him into conflict with the Candellas.[19] A Kalanjara Stone inscription records that Madanavarman, "in an instant defeated the king of Gurjara, as Krishna in former times defeated Kamsa."[20] Cunningham thought that this claim alludes to Madanavarman's campaign in Malwa, on the confines of Gujurat. From the rapidity of the Candella king's success, Cunningham inferred that Madanavarman's claim to victory over the Gurjaras represents the same campaign as that against the Paramaras mentioned in the Mau inscription.[21] There is, however, other evidence to show that there was an actual conflict between Siddharaja and Madanavarman, in which both claimed victory. The Gujarat chronicles refer to this conflict and the *Kumarapala-carita* claims that Siddharaja defeated Madanavarman the lord of Mahobaka.[22] The Kirtikaumudi states that Jayasimha went from Dhara to Kalanjara.[23] The discovery of two coins of Siddharaja at Pandwaha in the Jhansi district also probably indicates that a contest took place between the two dynasties.[24] Chand Bardai also refers to the conflict and records the defeat of the Caulukya king.[25] It is very difficult to guess the actual result of the conflict. Smith, on the evidence of the Kumarapalacarita, believed that the

[19] DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 969-971.
[20] JASB, Vol. XVII, Pt. I, p. 318, line 14.
[21] ASR, Vol. II, p. 454.
[22] Kumarapalacarita, I., 42.
[23] BG, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 178-179.
[24] JRAS, 1938, p. 141.
[25] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 144.

Caulukya king was compelled to come to terms and make peace.[26] Dr. Ray believes that Jayasimha could not derive much material advantage from his wars with the Candellas.[27] The conflict probably proved indecisive, neither side gaining advantage over the other.[28]

A fragmentary inscription, found at Mahoba, dated in V.S. 1240 (A.D. 1183) was noticed by Cunningham in his reports. The date falls in the reign of Paramardi, but Cunningham could not find any king's name in this inscription.[29] Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, however. has found the name of Madanavarman partly preserved in the 4th line, and in the next line there is reference in vague terms to war with Anga, Kalinga and Vanga.[30] An examination of the facsimile of the inscription supports Dr. Chakravarty's reading and we may reasonably assume that the raids referred to in the next line were carried out by Madanavarman.

It is evident from the above account that Madanavarman's reign saw the restoration of Candella power, and that he succeeded in expanding his territories at the expense of other dynasties. Besides including the four important places, *viz.,* Kalanjara, Khajuraho, Ajaigadh and Mahoba, Madanavarman's kingdom extended up to the Jumna in the north, the Betwa in the south-west, Rewa in the east and the Narbada in the south. The territories lost in the reigns of his weak predecessors were recovered, and the dynasty once again became a powerful force in the north-west and cental India. But in spite of all these achievements of Madanavarman we cannot agree with Cunningham that during his reign the Candella kingdom probably attained its greatest extent and prosperity.[31] No doubt Madanavarman annexed some portions of the Paramara and Kalacuri territories. But these annexations did not last long, and as we have seen, these places probably slipped out of his hands towards the end of his reign. Only a few years after his death, Madanavarman's grandson Paramardi was at first signally defeated by Prithviraja Cahamana, and then a few years later by the Moslems. These were not the first setbacks for the Candellas, for even Madanavarman himself had been defeated by Jayaccandra sometime before A.D. 1167. So the empire left by Madanavarman for Paramardi was not as consolidated and strong as that left by Dhanga for Ganda and Vidyadhara. This is further clear from the fact that while Vidyadhara could test his strength with the mighty Sultan Mahmud in the battlefield, Madanavarman's successor Paramardi could not protect his country from Kutbuddin's invasion. We cannot account for the fact that Paramardi's resistance to the Moslems was weaker than that of Vidyadhara, merely by suggesting differences in the energy and character of the two kings ; the general condition of the empire left to them by their predecessors must have been a more important differentiating factor.

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[26] Ibid.

[27] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 971.

[28] According to Chand Bardai, Madanavarman defeated Siddharaja Jayasimha, while the Gujarat chronicles declare that he gave tribute to the latter. But the chronicles add the story that even when the Caulukya king arrived at his capital, Madanavarman remained so unconcerned that he did not stir from his pleasure garden. When informers told him of Jayasimha's arrival, Madanavarman merely said, "The money-grabbing man wants some money ; give him something." Jayasimha was struck with the character of Madanavarman and personally visited him in his pleasure garden where Madanavarman entertained him at a banquet.—DHI, Vol. II, p. 182.

[29] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 72, plate XXI.

[30] ASR, 1936-37, p. 94.

(ii) Yasovarman :

Most of the Candella inscriptions mention Paramardideva as the successor of Madanavarman. But the Bagheri Stone inscription of Paramardi's reign mentions the name of Yasovarman as the son of Madanavarman and the father of

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[31] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 86.

Paramardideva. The inscription records that, "As the moon, the crest jewel of Mahesvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him [Madanavarman] Yasovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers, causing joy to the people."

"Whose fame, spreading in the three worlds with the loveliness of the jasmine and the moon, made the hair (of men) appear white, and thus caused the unprecedented notion that people, before they had attained to old age, had, alas, turned grey". "From him has sprung Paramardideva . . . ."[32]

Smith suggested that Yasovarman predeceased his father Madanavarman,[33] but Dr Ray does not agree with this view and thinks that the above verses indicate that Yasovarman actually reigned for a very short time. According to Dr. Ray, the second of the two verses hints at Yasovarman's untimely end, and from the absence of Yasovarman's name from Paramardi's other inscriptions, Dr. Ray assumes that the latter's accession to the throne was not peaceful and that Paramardi probably superseded his father.[34] We do not think that any definite assumption as to the nature of the succession can be made from the two verses, but the suggestion of Smith seems more probable. No minister of Yasovarman's reign is mentioned in the Bagheri inscription, which gives the genealogy of a family of ministers who served under successive Candella kings.[35] Moreover, it is unlikely that a family of ministers would think it prudent to mention the name of a father who was superseded by his son, and was the reigning monarch at the time the inscription was set up. In any case, Yasovarman cannot have ruled for long, for in A.D. 1165, according to another inscription, Paramardi was ruling over the Candella kingdom.[36]

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[32] EI, Vol. I. p. 209. vs. 8-10.

[34] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 712-713.

[33] IA, Vol. XVX, p. 205, fn. 4 : Vol. XXXVII, p. 129.

[35] EI, Vol. I, pp. 207-214 (mentioned as Batesvar Stone Inscription).

(iii) Paramardideva (1165-1202)

Twelve inscriptions of Paramardideva's reign have been discovered and from these we know that he must have ruled more than 35 years (1165—1202). The two most important events of his reign were his conflict with the Cahamanas of Delhi and Ajmer, and the Moslem invasion of Kalanjara of A.D. 1202 resulting in the defeat and death of Paramardi.

The time during which Paramardi ruled the Candella kingdom is one of the most important periods of Indian history. It was in this period that the Cahamana ruler Prithviraja III (1169—1192) occupied the throne of Delhi and lost it and his life to the Moslem invader Muhammad Ghori, in the second battle of Tarain (A.D. 1192). Prithviraja III was an ambitious king, who wanted to annex territories at the expense of other dynasties. The Candella inscriptions do not mention any conflict between Prithviraja Cahamana and Paramardi, but traditional accounts and Cahamana inscriptions refer to a serious conflict between them. The most important and well-known of the traditional works is the Prithviraj-Raso of Chand Bardai, according to tradition, the court-poet of the Cahamana king. The incident that led to the conflict, according to Chand, is as follows :

Some of the soldiers of Prithviraja were wounded while abducting the daughter of the Prince of Sameta, for Prithviraja. A few of these wounded soldiers, who had taken shelter on their way back, in a garden of Paramardi, were put to death by the Candella king. This enraged Prithviraja and to avenge the death of his soldiers, he invaded the

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[36] EI, Vol. IV, pp. 153-170.

Candella kingdom with a large army. The Candellas put up a strong resistance commanded by two great Banaphar heroes Alha and Udal. The Gahadavala ruler Jayaccandra is also said to have sent a large contingent to help Paramardi. After a heroic fight Udal was killed and Alha went to the forest with his Guru Gorokhnath. Kalanjara was besieged by the Cahamanas and Parmal (or Paramardi) was captured and taken to Delhi. Pajjunrai was appointed Thanapati of Mahoba by Prithviraja.[37] In another traditional account, the Lay of Alha, a similar story of the conflict is given.

The Prithviraja Raso and the Lay of Alha are far from reliable as historical works, and most of the stories narrated are unfounded tradition. But the story of the conflict between the Cahamanas and the Candellas has a kernel of truth. That Paramardi suffered a defeat at the hands of Prithviraja is proved by the discovery of some short inscriptions of the latter, in the Candella territories. These inscriptions are in two temples of Madanpura, a village "24 miles to the south-east of Dudhai, 35 miles to the south-south-east of Lalitpur and 30 miles to the north-east of Sagor." In one of these inscriptions, the names of Prithviraja and Paramardi are written together. In another inscription the genealogy of the Cahamana king is given, with the name of the conquered country, Jejakabhukti, and the date Samvat—1239, i.e. A.D. 1182. A third inscription mentions the country conquered by Prithviraja as Jejakabhukti-mandala, with the same date.[38]

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[37] RASO, Canto XIX, (4-22), pp. 455-473.

[38] ASR. Vol. X, pp. 98-99; Vol. XXI, pp. 173-174. "Madanpur is said to have been founded by Madanavarmma the Chandel Raja of Mahoba: but there is at least one inscription of S. 1112 or A.D. 1055, which is older than Madanavarma, who regined from 1120 to 1165 A.D. It seems probable therefore that he only re-named the place, and that the old site now called "old Madanpur" was the original city under another name which was changed to Madanpur by Madanavarmma."—ASR. Vol. XXI, p. 171. This place was probably under the Candellas since the time of Dhanga, and Madanavarman only re-named it after himelf.

This conflict between the Cahamanas and the Candellas is also referred to be stray verses in the *Sarngadharapaddhati* and the *Prabandha-cintamani*, which record that Paramardi saved himself by putting a piece of straw in his mouth when attacked by Prithviraja.[39] Dr. Sharma says that, "In the Prabandha-Cintamani the verse is referred to Paramardin of Kuntala even though his adversary is mentioned as Prithviraja of Sapadalaksa. This Paramardin lived about V.S. 1143. So the actual Paramardin meant by the verse is Paramardin of Jejakabhukti, a contemporary of Prithviraja III."[40] Dr. Sharma seems quite reasonable in suggesting this correction, and these two references further support the traditional account.

There can be little doubt that the conflict between the Cahamanas and the Candellas was only one of the incidents of Prithviraja's attempt to carry out his ambition of world conquest of *Digvijaya,* so often mentioned in the Prithviraj-Raso. Chand states in his poem that Prithviraja annexed Mahoba and appointed a governor there. But even if he actually held it in A.D. 1182, Prithviraja cannot possibly have kept it under his control for long. Cunningham noticed an inscription built into the wall of the Mahoba fort, with the name of Paramardideva, and the date of S. 1240 (A.D. 1183), *i.e.,* only one year after the Cahamana success.[41] Dr. Ray thinks that the title of Dasarnadhipati given to Paramardi in his Kalanjara inscription of A.D. 1201, shows that he had probably recovered most of the lost territories by that time.[42] As Prithviraja was engaged in conflict first with Jayaccandra Gahadavala and then with the Moslems, it seems probable that he could not hold the territories gained from Paramardi for long.

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[39] Paddhati of Sarngadhara (Ed. P. Peterson, Bombay, 1888) vs. 1254. Prabandha-cintamani (Ed. D. K. Shastri, Bombay, 1932), p. 191.

[40] IC, Vol. XI, p. 60, fn. 1.

[41] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 71.

[42] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 720.

The traditional story that Jayaccandra Gahadavala assisted Paramardi against Prithviraja is regarded as historical by many scholars. Dr. Ray believes that the Gahadavalas and the Candellas were on friendly terms and he suggests that "the struggle which according to Chand was opened with battle on the Pahuj may well have been a duel between these two allies on one hand and the Cahamanas on the other."[43] This view is mainly based on the statement of the Mau inscription that the king of Kasi passed his time in friendly pursuits through dread of Madanavarman,[44] and also on the stories narrated in traditional works. We, however, do not think that the available epigraphic evidence warrants any such contention. That the relations between the Gahadavalas and the Candellas during the reigns of Jayavarman and Madanavarman were hostile, has already been noticed. The Mau Stone inscription more probably indicates Madanavarman's success in checking the powerful Gövindacandra rather than any real friendly relations between the two. Jayaccandra as the crown prince had already come into conflict with Madanavarman.[45] Thus both epigraphic and literary records suggest hostile relations between the two dynasties. According to the Prithviraj-Raso, Paramardi was helped by Jayaccandra and the Lay of Alha goes so far as to present Paramardi as a vassal of the Gahadavala king.[46] But both these works say that Alha and Udal, the two Banaphar heroes, after being unjustly banished by Paramardi, sought refuge in the court of Jayaccandra, which refuge the latter readily granted. It is difficult to understand why the two brothers should seek refuge with a close ally of Paramardi instead of going to the court of a king who was less friendly. This probably indicates that Jayaccandra and Paramardi were not on such friendly terms as they appear to be in tradition. Jayaccandra was a great enemy of Prithviraja, and it is only natural for the Cahamana chronicles to associate Jayaccandra with a battle in which Prithviraja achieved a resounding victory. Moreover, if Paramardi was a close ally of Jayaccandra, one would expect the former to come to the assistance of the latter, when he was defeated and killed by Muhammad Ghori in A.D. 1193. But neither the inscriptions and the Moslem historians, nor even the traditional accounts of the war, refer to any such assistance by Paramardi. Considering the evidence of inscriptions and the sequence of the events of the time, we do not believe that the Gahadavalas and the Candellas were on friendly terms, or that Jayaccandra assisted Paramardi in his fight against Prithviraja Cahamana.

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[43] Ibid., p. 1085.

[44] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 15.

[45] Supra, pp. 87-89.

[46] LOA, p. 57.

Paramardi succeeded in recovering most of his lost territories in the course of a few years. During A.D. 1191—1192 Prithviraja was busy with his wars against Muhammad Ghori, in which he ultimately met his death. This gave Paramardi an opportunity of recovering his position. But he could not rule in peace for long. After the fall of the Cahamana kingdom its place was taken by the Moslems, who became neighbours of the Candellas. Under such circumstances, a conflict between the two became inevitable, and this took place early in the 13th century. The contemporary Moslem writer Hasan Nizami (A.D. 1205—1217) gives the following account of the conflict in his Tajul-Maathir—

"In the year 599 H. (A.D. 1202), Kutub-ud-Din proceeded to the investment of Kalinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by the Sahib-Kiran, Shamsud-din-Altamash...... 'The accursed Parmar' the Rai of Kalinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and 'placed the collar of subjection' round his neck, and on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmud Sabuktigin, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His Diwan or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate, in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. 'On Monday the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction, came out of the fort, and by compulsion left their native place empty', and the fort of Kalinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander was taken." "The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatory was annihilated." "Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus." "Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors."

The reins of victory were then diverted toward Mahoba, and the government of Kalinjar was conferred on Hazabbaru-d-din Hasan Arnal."[47]

Firishta gives a similar account of the invasion but he says that Paramardi was assassinated for his offer of submission to the Moslems. According to Firishta, Paramardi's proposal for submission was accepted, "but the Raja's minister who resolved to hold out without coming to terms caused his master to be assassinated, while the presents were preparing. The Hindu flag being again hoisted on the fort, the siege recommenced."[48] Dr. Ray is right in rejecting the testimony of Firishta as a later fabrication.[49] But both Hasan Nizami and Firishta's accounts make it clear that Paramardi's offer of submission was not liked by his minister Ajai Deo, and that after Paramardi's death he put up a gallant resistance. Dr. Ray is probably right in assuming from the mention of Mahoba as "the capital of the principality' of Kalpi that the city and the surrounding places were no longer a part of the Candella dominions.[50]

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[47] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 231-232.

The findspots of Paramardi's inscriptions indicate that he was in possession of all the territories left by his father Madanavarman. In 1183 he lost some parts of his kingdom, but succeeded in recovering them within a few years. But the invasion of Kutbuddin proved disastrous for the Candellas, and they lost many parts of their territories, including the fort of Kalanjara. The difficult task of ousting the Moslems and the recovery of Kalanjara was left to Paramardi's successor Trailokyavarman. It is unlikely that a stronger king could have saved the Candella kingdom from the Moslem invasion, but that Paramardi's weakness and lack of fighting spirit and courage made the situation even worse is evident beyond doubt.[51]

(iv) Trailokyavarman (c. 1203—c. 1250)

According to the evidence of contemporary Candella inscriptions, Paramardi was succeeded by Trailokyavarmadeva. The Garra Grant of Trailokyavarman mentions Paramardi as the immediate predecessor of Trailokyavarman and gives the latter all the royal epithets, *viz.*, Paramabhattaraka-

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[48] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 197.

[49] DHNI, II, p. 721.

[50] Ibid., p. 722.

[51] We consider the character of Paramardi as far as it can be reconstructed in appendix, No. 3.

Maharajadhiraja-Paramesvara-Parama Mahesvara Kalanjaradhipati.[52] Eight inscriptions of this king have been discovered, which are dated between A.D. 1205 and 1241. As the Garra Grant is dated in A.D. 1205, *i.e.,* only three years after Paramardi's death, it seems that Trailokyavarman succeeded Paramardi very shortly after A.D. 1202.[53]

From Trailokyavarman's assumption of the title Kalanjaradhipati, in the Garra inscription, it can be assumed that he succeeded in recovering Kalanjara from the Moslems before A.D. 1205. That this was not an idle boast like that of some other kings[54] is known from other epigraphic records. The verse 7 of the Ajaygadh Rock inscription of Viravarman (A.D. 1260) states that, "Then (i.e. after Paramardi) the prince Trailokyavarman ruled the kingdom, a very creator in providing strong places. He was like Vishnu in lifting the earth, emerged in the ocean formed by the streams of Turushkas."[55] It is very significant that the Garra Plates of A.D. 1205 record a grant by way of maintenance for death (mrityukavrittau) to one Rauta Samanta, whose father was killed at Kakadadaha (modern Kakadwa, near

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[52] EI, XVI, pp. 272-77.

[53] The Prithviraj Raso, however, gives a different account according to which Samarjit, a son of Paramardi, with the help of an officer of Jayaccandra Gahadavala recaptured Mahoba from Pajjun Rai, the Thanapati of Prithviraja. Samarjit is said to have ruled the territory between Kalanjara and Gaya till he was ultimately killed by Binae ud-Din, a Musalman. (JASB, 1881, p. I, pp. 29-31). Smith suggested that this name was probably a mistake for Baha-ud-Din (Tughril) who was placed in charge of Bayana in A.D. 1196 by Md. Ghori (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 195 ; IA XXXVII, p. 105, fn. 50). Raverty states that Baha-ud-Din became for some time the head of an independent state in central India after the death of Kutabuddin in A.D. 1220. (Notes on Afganistan, p. 572). The Candella inscriptions do not mention any son of Paramardi named Samarjit. Moreover, we know that Paramardi himself reconquered the territories lost to Prithviraja. Moslem historians also do not mention Samarjit, and there is no reason to believe in Chand's story.

[54] The Kalacuris of Kalyani assumed the title Kalanjaradhipati, which was nothing but an idle boast.—B. G. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 469.

[55] EI, Vol. I, p. 327.

Lalitpur, Jhansi) in a battle with the Turuskas.[56] It has been suggested that the war referred to was in some way or other connected with Kutabuddin's investment of Kalanjara in A.D. 1202, and the fall of Mahoba in A.D. 1203.[57] But this we think, as has been pointed out by Dr. Ray, was probably Trailokyavarman's war with the Moslems, in which he won back Kalanjara.[58] In the Garra Grants Trailokyavarman is recorded to have granted lands situated in places now included in the districts of Jhansi, Saugor, Bijawar, Panna and Chattarpur. This shows that along with Kalanjara, Trailokyavarman's kingdom in A.D. 1205 included these territories.

That the Moslems lost Kalanjara to Trailokyavarman is also known from Minhaj's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Minhaj states that Malik Nusrat-ud-Din Tayasi was entrusted with the charge of 'Bhianah and Sultan Kot ..... together with the superintendency of Gwaliyur by Sultan I-Yal-timish'. "In the year 631 H. (A.D. 1233) he accordingly led an army from Gwaliyur towards the Kalinjar country, and the Rai of Kalinjar fled discomfited before him. He plundered the townships of that territory, and in a very short period, obtained vast booty in such wise that in the space of fifty days, the Sultan's fifth share was set down at twenty-five lakhs."[59] As his inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1205 and 1241, the Rai of Kalinjar in 1233 was no doubt Trailokyavarman, and the above account strengthens the conclusion that the fort of Kalanjara and the neighbouring places were still in his kingdom. The Moslem account is vastly exaggerated and the gallant resistance offered by the Candellas is evident from the Moslem chronicler's reference to the Hindus "as a pack of wolves on a herd of sheep" and his exclamation of relief and thanks to the God for the safe return of the Moslem army.[60] Dr. Habibullah rightly says that "Although Tayasi claimed to have captured the Raja's standard and kettledrums on this occasion, he obviously considered it a great military feat to have been able to get away".[61]

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[56] EI, XVI, pp. 272-77.
[57] JOIH, XV, 1936. p. 175.
[58] DHNI, II, p. 726.
[59] Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 732-33.

The Rewa inscription of Malayasimha dated in the year 944 of the Kalacuri era (A.D. 1193) refers to a king named Vijayasimha who was born of the family of Karna. The inscription mentions the place Kakaredi (modern Kakeri on the border of the Rewa and Panna districts), which indicates that this was within the kingdom of Vijayasimha. Dr. R. D. Banerjee has rightly identified the Vijayasimha of this inscription with the Kalacuri ruler of the same name.[62] Kakaredi was within the kingdom of Kirtivarman Candella and this inscription supports Dr. Ray's view that "during the disastrous reign of Paramardi, the Kalacuris wrested the control of the Trans-Kaimur region from the Candellas."[63] We have evidence to show that besides recapturing the lost territories, Trailokyavarman succeeded in annexing a large portion of the Kalacuri kingdom.

The last known Kalacuri king is Vijayasimha, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1180 and 1211.[64] The Kumbha inscription of Vijayasimha mentions Ajayasimha as one of his sons, and it is generally believed that Ajayasimha succeeded his father, though nothing is known about the latter's reign. But the recent discovery of Vijayasimha's inscription of A.D. 1211 and Trailokyavarmadeva's inscriptions of A.D. 1212[65] shows that it was from Vijayasimha that

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[60] Ibid., pp. 733-734.
[61] The Foundation of Moslem Rule in India, p. 101.
[62] EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 295-296.
[63] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 728.
[64] ASR, 1935-1936, pp. 89-90.
[65] EI, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-6; ASR, 1935-36, pp. 89-90.

Trailokyavarman captured the Kalacuri territories. Two other Rewa inscriptions of Trailokyavarman also show that the Kalacuri territories were annexed by the Candellas.

The first of the Rewa Grants is dated in S. 1297 (A.D. 1250) and records certain gifts made by one Kumarapaladeva, the Maharanaka of Kakaredi, to certain Brahmanas. The inscription mentions *Pb. M. P. Trikalingadhipati-nija-bhuja-par-jita-Asvapati-gajapati-narapati-rajatrayadhipati-Trailokyavarmadeva* as the paramount sovereign, who meditated at the feet of *Pb. M. P. Paramamahesvara* Vamadeva.[66] Along with this, another inscription was found dated in Samvat 1298 (A.D. 1251), i.e. only one year later, lines 4 and 5 of which refer to the victorious reign of *Paramabhattaraketyadi-rajavali-tray-opeta-maharajasri-Trelakyamalla* (*sic*). This inscription also gives the same genealogical list of the Maharanakas of Kakaredika, but the ruling chief of Kakaredika is here named Hariraja.[67] Cunningham identified the Trailokyavarman of the first inscription with the Candella ruler Trailokyavarman and suggested that Trailokyamalla of the second inscription was no other than the same Candella king, who must have taken these places from the Kalacuris.[68] Kielhorn accepted the view of Cunningham and pointed out that titles of the Cedi princes, including the reference to

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[66] ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-148; IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 224, 230-234.

[67] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 148; IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 224, 234-236. "A puzzling fact about the two Rewa Grants of Trailokyavarman is that while the inscription of Kumarapala is dated in 1240, that of his father Hariraja is dated in A.D. 1241. The Grant of the son, however, shows that his father was already a Maharanaka before 1240. The difficulty is probably to be solved by the assumption that Kumarapala when still a child was made king through the machinations of the Kayastha Muktasimha, who poses as a king-maker in the Grant of Kumarapala. Hariraja had to abdicate but before long he succeeded in recovering his throne from his child son."—DHNI, II. p. 728, fn. 2. —Dr. Ray's suggestion seems to explain this discrepancy, though a joint rule of the father and the son may also be suggested.

[68] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 147.

Vamadeva, have been simply transferred to a Candella prince."[69]

With the material available to him, Dr. Ray could not suggest any date of Trailokyavarman's success over the Kalacuris. But the discovery of another Rewa inscription, dated in A.D. 1212, helps us to fix an almost definite date of this event.[70]

In this set of two Copper Plates, which was found at Dhureti, the ruling king is mentioned as Trailokyamalladeva, and is endowed with the Royal titles similar to those given to Trailokyavarmadeva in the two Rewa inscriptions mentioned above. The additional epithets which are given to this Trailokyamalla are "*Kanyakubjadhipati*" and "*trisati-rajyadhipati*". These two epithets are not found in any other inscription. The date of the inscription is given as Samvat 963, which Dr. Chakravarty justifiably refers to the Kalacuri era, i.e. A.D. 1212. As no Kalacuri king with the name of Trailokyamalla is known, Dr. Chakravarty identifies him with Trailokyavarman of the other two Rewa inscriptions. Speaking of the title *Kanyakubjadhipati,* Dr. Chakravarty suggests that "with the decline of the Gahadavala power, Trailokyamalla assumed this title, as he did also the title of Trikalingadhipati borne by the Kalacuris of Dahala."

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[69] IA, Vol. XVII, p. 231.

No Candella or Kalacuri prince is known with the name of Vamadeva and this presents a difficult problem. In the Banaras Grant of Laksmikarna, the Kalacuri king is said to have meditated on the feet of Vamadeva and some of the later Kalacuri kings are recorded to have done the same. Dr. Barnett tries to solve this problem by suggesting that "these princes who are called Vamadeva, were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that god that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself." DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 775-776. The is a possible explanation, but on this hypothesis it is strange that Vamadeva or Vishnu has been given the titles of an emperor and is referred to as Paramamahesvara or the supreme devotee of Siva.

[70] Noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty in ASR, 1935-36, pp. 90-91, and then published by and edited by Dr. Chakravarty himself in EI, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-6.

In the Rewa inscription of A.D. 1193, one Samanta Malayasimha is mentioned. The inscription of Kalacuri Vijayasimha also refers to a mandalika Malayasimha (A.D. 1211). Surprisingly in this inscription of Trailokyamalla, is mention of another Malayasimha with the titles of Mahamahattaka and mandalika, and he also calls himself a mantrin of Trailokyamalla. Dr. Chakravarty thinks these three Malayasimhas to be identical, and suggests that Malayasimha transferred his allegiance to the conquering Candella ruler and had to accept the Candella suzerainty to save himself and his estate. Dr. Chakravarty further believes that after this transfer of allegiance, Malayasimha was appointed a minister by Trailokyamalla, probably for his experience in local administration.

The actual object of the inscription is to execute a deed of mortgage by a Saiva ascetic in the presence of some government officers and other important people of the village.[71]

From the inscription of Kalacuri Vijayasimha dated in K.C. Era 962 (A.D 1210) we know that the Kalacuris were in possession of Rewa and its surrounding places till then.[72] But as this Rewa inscription of Trailokyamalla (whose identification with the Candella Trailokyavarman we reluctantly accept)[73] is dated only one year later (A.D. 1212), we can conclude that Trailokyavarman defeated Vijayasimha and annexed the Kalacuri territories between A.D. 1211 and 1212. It is very surprising that no Candella inscription mentions this achievement of Trailokyavarman. Rai Bahadur Hiralal tries to explain the silence by suggesting that the Candellas found the Kalacuris so weak that they did not think it worth while to record their victory over them.[74] This, though not very satisfactory, is perhaps the only possible explanation.

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[71] EI, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-6.

[72] ASR, Reports 1935-36, p. 89.

[73] For further consideration of this question see appendix, No. 2.

[74] Bh. Annals, Vol. IX, p. 295.

The assumption of the title Kanyakubjadhipati is no doubt an idle boast. Perhaps the Saiva ascetics who execute the deed of mortgage for financial reasons, endowed their sovereign with this epithet. with the hope of getting royal favour. Dr. Chakravarty's identification of the three Malayasimhas, in different inscriptions, as one person is also very reasonable. It is interesting to note that in the inscription of A.D. 1193, Malayasimha is called a samanta ; then after 18 years (A.D. 1211) he is mentioned as a mandalika and a year later he had become a Mantrin. Such gradual promotion in office is often found in the administrative history of the Hindu dynasties.

With the help of the above mentioned inscriptions, we may reconstruct the history of the relations between the Kalacuris and the Candellas (c. 1170-1212), as follows :

After the defeat and downfall of Karna (c. 1062) the Candella Kirtivarman annexed some parts of the Kalacuri territories on the eastern border of his own kingdom. Kirtivarman's successors managed to keep these places within the Candella kingdom, until the last quarter of the 12th century. In A.D. 1182, Paramardi was decisively defeated by Prithviraja Cahamana, and this, coupled with the threat of Moslem invasion, weakened the hold of Paramardi on his territories. The Kalacuri Vijayasimha took advantage of the situation and won back some parts of the long lost Kalacuri territories. Paramardi's successor Trailokyavarman, however, was a man of considerable ability and he regained Kalanjara from the Moslems. He then turned his attention to the eastern part of his kingdom and in A.D. 1212 defeated the Kalacuri Vijayasimha and annexed most of the Kalacuri kingdom, and with this the history of the Kalacuris comes to an end.

The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of Bhojavarman records that one Vase or Vaseka was appointed Visisa of Jayadurga, by Trailokyavarman. The inscription then states "the wise Vaseka, being to the armies of the opposing chiefs what a forest fire is to the brushwood, sent the irresistible Bhojuka, who, seized with frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abode of death, and thus made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families."[75] The same inscription states that Vaseka's younger brother Ananda was appointed governor of the fort of Jayapura and he (Ananda) "reduced to submission the wild tribes of the Bhillas, Sabaras and Pulindas."[76] Referring to the hill tribes, Smith said that even in its best days, the Candella kingdom was only partially cleared and was "chiefly inhabited by sundry hill tribes, who owed indeed a certain allegiance to the Raja, but yet lived for the most part free of control, and indulged with little restraint in their hereditary propensities for fighting and plunder."[77] Smith's statement is justified by the above two verses and it seems that these hill tribes and other enemies of the state, who taking advantage of the unsettled condition in the kingdom, caused disorder and lawlessness, were checked by Trailokyavarman with the help of his military officers.

The findspots of Trailokyavarman's inscriptions indicate that he ruled over quite an extensive kingdom. In the east his kingdom included the district of Rewa and the surrounding places upto the river Son, while in the west it comprised the district of Lalitpur. The recently discovered Tehari grant of Trailokyavarman[78] dated A.D. 1207, shows that the western districts were included in his kingdom very early in his reign. We cannot establish the extent of his kingdom to the south. No inscription of Trailokyavarman has been found on the northern side of the Candella kingdom, but Dr. Ray rightly suggests that the discovery of Trailokyavarman's copper dramma in the Banda district indicates the extent of his kingdom in the north.[79] It is significant that he extended his kingdom in the east and most of his inscriptions have been found in these parts. This is perhaps explained by the fact that the Candellas were feeling the pressure of the gradual extension of Moslem power in the northern and western parts of their kingdom, and this led them to turn their attention to the east and annex new territories in that direction. It may be added in this connection that of the more than twenty Candella inscriptions of the successors of Paramardi so far discovered, only one or two very minor short inscriptions have been found in Kalanjara, whereas a number of important inscriptions have been found in Ajaygadh. This we think suggests that after the fall of Kalanjara in A.D. 1202, Ajaygadh became the capital of the Candellas, and even after the recapture of Kalanjara by Trailokyavarman sometime before A.D. 1205, the Candellas did not transfer their capital to Kalanjara again.

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[75] EI, Vol. I, p. 334, vs. 19.

[76] Ibid., vs. 22.

[77] JASB, Vol. XLVI, p. I, p. 229.

[78] ARIE for 1946-1947, Copper Plate No. 50 ;

The last known date of Trailokyavarman is A.D. 1241, the date of one of his Rewa grants,[80] but he may have ruled until A.D. 1247. This assumption is based on an account given in Tabaqat-I-Nasiri of Minhaj, which is as follows :— "There was in this neighbourhood the hilly tracts near Kara (Allahabad Dt., U.P.) a Rana who was called Dalaki Wa Malaki. He had many dependants, countless fighting men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. All these he [Ulugh Khan, the Commander of Sultan Nasiruddin], ravaged (645=A.D. 1247). He took prisoners the wives, sons and dependants of that accursed one, and secured great booty. He secured 1,500 horses of a peculiar breed, which he brought in for the use of the army. His other booty may be inferred from this. When he returned and waited on his sovereign all his brother nobles congratulated him on his victories."[81]

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[79] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 728.
[80] ASR, Vol. XXI. p. 148 ; IA, Vol. XVII. pp. 234-236.

Firishta refers to Dulky and Mulky as two different kings and he states that "they had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna, and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Kurra. They resided at Kalanjur".[82] Cunningham identified Dalaki Wa Malaki with the Candella Trailokyavarman and argued that the name Dalaki Wa Malaki had been made out of the one long name, Tilaki Wama Deo, which in Persian character might easily be mis-read as Tilaki Wa Milaki, and which may be further corrupted into Dalaki Wa Malaki.[83] Cunningham's identification, which is supported by the mention of Kalanjara in Firishta's account and the strangeness of the name, seems very reasonable. It may also be pointed out that there was no really powerful king in that part of India, in A.D. 1247 excepting possibly the Candella Trailokyavarman.

Trailokyavarman thus had a long reign of about forty-five years, and, as the first known date of his son Viravarman is A.D. 1254,[84] we may reasonably fix A.D. 1250 as the last probable date of Trailokyavarman.

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[81] Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 680-683, fn. 9 on p. 680, fn. 5 on p. 682; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 248.

[82] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 237. Raverty has correctly pointed out that Briggs' Translation is defective here and says that Firishta "does not mention anything whatever of two rajahs, as rendered by Briggs, "the Rajahs Dulky and Mulky", but on the other hand a Rajah."—See also Elliot, Vol. II, p. 348, fn. 1.

[83] ASR, Vol. II, p. 457.

[84] EI, Vol. XX, pp. 132-134.

(v) Viravarman (c. 1250—c. 1286)

Trailokyavarman's son and successor was Viravarmadeva. Nine inscriptions of his reign have been discovered, which are dated between the years A.D. 1254 and A.D. 1286.

In the Charkhari Plate of V.S. 1311 (A.D. 1254), which is his earliest known inscription, Viravarman bears all the royal epithets, and appears as the immediate successor of Trailokyavarman. The main object of the plate is to record the grant of a village by Viravarman to a Rauta, in recognition of the latter's meritorious service in the battle of Sondhi against one Dabhyuhadavarman.[85] Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who has edited the inscription, identifies Sondhi with Seondha fort, 'now called Kanhargadh, lying on the banks of the Sind river in the Datia State'. As the battle is referred to as a sangrama or war in the inscription, Hiralal thinks that it was a battle of some importance. He suggests that the war was "between members of the same lineage, viz., the Candellas, if the termination of the opponent's name Dabhyuhadavarman would indicate anything to that effect."[86]

It does not, however, seem that the war referred to here was a battle between the members of the royal family. Sondhi or Siondha fort is on the extreme western boundary of the Candella kingdom. It is very unlikely that a war of succession or any other battle among the members of the Candella family should be fought outside the kingdom rather than at a place nearer to the centre of the emipre. We, therefore, think that the battle of Sondhi was fought against one of the western neighbours of the Candellas. The Dahi Grant of Viravarman (A.D. 1281) records the gift of the village of Dahi to Mallaya "an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery". The donee is said to have conquered the lord of Narwar (Nalapurapati), Gopala the ruler of Mathura (Madhuvanakadhipa) and Hariraja of Gwalior (Gopagiri).[87] The Jhansi Stone inscription of A.D. 1262, and the Gurha Sati Stone inscription of A.D. 1286[88] show that Viravarman's kingdom extended up to the region between the rivers Sindh and Vetravati, and Dr. Ray rightly suggests that Viravarman "may have even come into conflict with the petty Hindu rulers of Narwar, Gwalior and Muttra(?)"[89] Viravarman probably tried to expand his kingdom in the west from the beginning of his reign, and Dabhyuhadavarman was perhaps one of the minor kings against whom he fought. It is significant that no inscription of Trailokyavarman has been found in the west and he largely extended his kingdom in the east, while, on the other hand, no inscription of Viravarman has been found in the east and he extended his territories in the west.

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[85] EI, Vol. XX, p. 133, line 14.

[86] Ibid., p. 132.

The discovery of Virvarman's inscriptions in Ajaygadh, Kalanjara and other places mentioned above indicates that he ruled over quite an extensive territory, and in the absence of any Muhammadan chronicles claiming decisive victories over the rulers of Bundelkhand, Dr. Ray concludes that "Viravarman was left in comparatively undisturbed possession of his territories".[90]

The authenticity of Viravarman's possession of Kalanjara has recently been doubted by Mr. A. H. Nizami. He says that "The Qanungo family of Mahoba are in possession of a grant dated V.S. 1337—A.D. 1280, from 'Raja Kirat Singh of a Ju Bhar'[91] which Smith believed to be genuine. The rule of Raja Kirat Singh is further confirmed by another Moslem tradition which records Kirat Pal as Raja of Kalinjar in 1252. If Kirat Singh and Kirat Pal are identical, as supported by Smith, Kalinjar could not have been in the possession of Viravarman Chandela."[92] It may be pointed out that the grant in question is not original but 'the copy of a translation', which throws great suspicion on its authenticity and reliability for the purpose of history. The Kalanjara Stone inscription of Viravarman shows positively that he was in possession of Kalanjara.[93] Kielhorn noticed another Kalanjara inscription from rubbings supplied by Burgess, the line 3 of which gives the date S. 1340 (A.D. 1283) ;[94] this does not mention the name of the king, but as Viravarman's other inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1254 and 1286, there can be little doubt that this inscription belongs to Viravarman. In the presence of strong epigraphic evidence, the account of a vague Moslem tradition should be rejected. Probably there has been a mistake in the date of the inscription in possession of the Qanungo family, and the Kirat Singh of the inscription is Kirat Singh, the Raja of Kalinjar, who opposed Sher Shah in A.D. 1544.[95]

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[87] ASR. XXI, pp. 74-76.

[88] EI. Vol. V, Appn. p. 35, No. 242; p. 33, No. 227.

[89] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 733.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Apparently of the Ju clan of the Bhar tribe.

(vi) Bhojavarman (1286—1288)

Viravarman was succeeded by Bhojavarman. Three inscriptions of Bhojavarman's reign have been found in the Ajaygadh fort, of which one is not dated, and the other two are dated in V.S. 1345 (A.D. 1288) and V.S. 1346 (A.D. 1288, 24th November) respectively.[96] Nothing is known from these inscriptions except the names of certain

[92] PAIOC, 1946, pp. 444-445. Mr. Nizami gives no reference for the Moslem tradition and we cannot trace it in any Moslem chronicle known to us.

[93] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 39.

[94] EI, Vol. V, Appen. 35, No. 241.

[95] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 146.

[96] ASR, 1935-1936, p. 93 ; JASB, Vol. VI, p. I, pp. 881-887 EI, Vol. I, pp. 330-338.

ministers and other officers, but they indicate that Bhojavarman ruled over the territories surrounding Ajaygadh.

(vii) Hammiravarman (1288—C. 1310)

Bhojavarman was succeeded by Hammirvarman. The Charkhari Plate of Hammiravarmadeva is dated 11th September, A.D. 1289 (V.S. 1346).[97] As the Ajaygadh Sati record of Hammiravarman's predecessor Bhojavarman is also dated in Saṁvat 1346, Rai Bahadur Hiralal suggested that there was a usurpation of the throne, unless Bhojavarman had died in the same year before the date of the issue of the Charkhari Grant.[98] But the Sati record of Bhojavarman's reign is dated *V.S. 1346 Margga bati(di) 14 Budha,* corresponding to Wednesday, 24th November, A.D. 1288, whereas the Charkhari Grant of Hammirvarmadeva is dated *V.S. 1346 Bhadrapada badi 12 Ravi Pusya-nakṣatra* which corresponds to Sunday, 14th August, A.D. 1289. So these two dates do not overlap, which shows that there is no evidence of usurpation of the throne.

Bhojavarman probably had a very short reign of 3 years (1286-1288). As the Charkhari Grant of Hammiravarman does not mention Bhojavarman, the relation between the two is not known. Dr. Chakravarty's suggestion that Bhojavarman was possibly the younger brother of Viravarman, and reigned during the minority of Hammiravarman may explain the omission.[99]

In the Charkhari Plates of Hammiravarman, the ancestors of the royal family are given full royal epithets, but Hammiravarman himeslf is not given the epithets *Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara.* Hiralal thinks "this indicates that either he was fully conscious of his reduced position, which induced him to be content with a humbler title, or that he was never recognised as the Maharaja while his elder brother Bhojavarmadeva was on the throne".[100] Probably Bhojavarman, the elder brother or the uncle of Hammiravarman, was still alive when the Charkhari Plates were issued, and hence the latter did not or could not assume the full royal epithets. There is also the possibility that after Viravarman's death, the kingdom was divided between the two brothers Hammiravarman and Bhojavarman. After Bhojavarman's death Hammiravarman probably took possession of the whole kingdom.

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[97] EI, Vol. XX, pp. 134-136.
[98] Ibid., p. 135.
[99] ASR, 1935-1936, p. 93.

The epithet *Kalanjaradhipati* and the discovery of a Sati record (S. 1368=A.D. 1311) in Ajaygadh mentioning Hammiravarman as the ruling king[101] indicate that he was in possession of Ajaygadh, Kalanjara and the neighbouring places. Another Sati record found in the village Bamhni of the Damoh district, has been noticed by Hiralal. This inscription shows that about A.D. 1308, portions of Damoh and Jubbalpore districts were governed by a *Maharajaputra* Vaghadeva under the sovereignty of Kalanjaradhipati Hammiravarman.[102] In another Sati record discovered in Patan, (Jabbalpore district), dated in S. 1361 (A.D. 1304), Vaghadeva is mentioned as a Pratihara chief.[103] These records show that even at the end of the 13th century the Candellas were ruling over some parts of their former kingdom.

The discovery of a Sati record at Salaiya (3 miles from Bamhni) dated in S. 1366 (A.D. 1309) in the reign of Alayadin Sutana (Sultan Alauddin) marks the end of Candella rule in the territories of Damoh and Jubbalpore, which must have occurred in either A.D. 1308 or 1309,[104] but they probably continued to rule in Kalanjara and Ajaygadh.

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[100] EI, Vol. XX, p. 135.
[101] EI, Vol. XX, p. 134, fn. 2.
[102] EI, Vol. XVI, p. 10, fn. 4.
[103] Ibid., p. 11, fn. 1.
[104] Ibid.

In the absence of any Moslem claim of success, it is generally believed that the Candellas remained in possession of Kalanjara and Ajaygadh during the period c. 1240—1540 A.D. Smith stated that princess Durgavati, who married Raja Dalpat Sa of Garha Mandla about A.D. 1545, is recorded to have been the daughter of the Candella Raja of Mahoba, and identified the Raja of Mahoba with Kirat Rai the Raja of Kalanjara who was killed when Sher Shah besieged the fort of Kalanjara in A.D. 1545.[105] The name Candella survives as a clan name in different parts of present-day central India and a Zamindar family of Bengal claims descent from the imperial Candellas.[106] But after Hammiravarman they ceased to be of any importance in the politics of northern India, and are no longer our concern.

[105] JASB, Vol. L, p. 42.
[106] DHI, Vol. II, p. 185.

CHAPTER VI

CANDELLA ADMINISTRATION

The essential features of ancient and early mediaeval Indian administration are well known to all students, and eminent scholars have discussed its various aspects and have made valuable contributions to our knowledge of the subject. These works are, however, mainly concerned with the general administrative system of the period, without detailed study of the system prevalent in any given kingdom with its own special political, geographical and socio-economic problems. In the previous chapters we have traced the rise and fall, and the successes and failures of the Candella dynasty, and we now trace, on the evidence of epigraphic, literary and other sources, what form of administration the Candellas had and how it functioned during a period of about four hundred years.

Most of the authorities on ancient Indian administration declare that a State (Rajya) is constituted by seven elements, viz., *Svamin* (ruler or sovereign), *amatya* (minister), *janapada* or *rastra* (the territory of the state and its people) *durga* (fortified city or capital), *ḳosa* (accumulated wealth in the ruler's treasury), *danda* (army), *mitra* (friends or allies). These seven parts are called *angas* or *praḳritis*.[1] The Candella inscriptions indicate that they had the same conception of the state, and that their kingdom was administered on this principle. Thus the Mau Stone inscription states that "Kirtivarman defeated the host of enemies, together with all the six internal enemies and day by day rendered more prosperous the seven constituent parts of the kingdom (*angani sapta*) together with virtue".[2] We can thus consider Candella administration under these seven heads.

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[1] For full references see HDS, Vol. III, p. 17.

I. The King :

Sukra compares the seven angas of the kingdom to the organs of the body, viz., 'the king is the head, the ministers are the eyes, ally the ears, treasury the mouth, army the mind, capital and rastra are hands and feet.'[3] In the Candella kingdom the king was the head of the state and administration. The inscriptions show that the ideal of kingship in the Candella kingdom was very much the same as found in the sacred literature. An inscription describing the qualities of Harsa Candella says, "In him were fortune and eloquence combined, statesmanship and heroism, vigour radiant with the qualities of goodness, and mature patience by nature, contentment and desire for victory, modesty and self confidence." "He who (was) afraid to offend against the law, anxious to worship the feet of Vishnu, the enemy of Madhu, unacquainted with wicked utterances, abashed when his own excellencies were enumerated, void of caluminious speech, and mute by birth to utter untrue words".[4] Another inscription praises a Candella king as "Intelligent, devoted to the law, valorous, speaking the truth, subduing the senses, grateful, causing joy to good men (and) of auspicious aspect".[5]

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[2] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, vs. 8. Desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride, and envy are the six internal enemies.—EI, Vol. I, p. 203, fn. 63.

[3] Sukra, I, 122-124.

[4] EI, Vol. I, pp. 126, 131-132, vs. 19-20.

"Yatra srisca sarasvati ca sahite nitikramo vikramastejah satva (ttva)—gunojva (jjva) lam parinata ksantisca naisargiki, santoso vijigisutaca vinayo manasca punyatmanas tasyanan—tangunasya Vismayanidheh kinnamavastu stumah.

Bhirudharmaparadhe madhuripu-caranaradhane—satrsnah papalapenabhijno nijagunagananaprakramesvapragalbhah sunyahpe (pai) sunyavadenrvacanasamuccarane jatimukah."

[5] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 205, lines 5-6.

The king was expected to rule the kingdom according to the laws of the sacred texts, and the Candella inscriptions often mention this fact. A Khajuraho inscription states that Harsa "the most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend against the law".[6] Dhanga is also praised for acting in accordance with the law.[7] It can hardly be expected that all the Candella kings possessed all the high qualities demanded of them. But that kings like Dhanga, Vidyadhara, Kirtivarman and others had qualities of statesmanship, heroism, self confidence and intelligence is evident from their achievements both in the the political field and in other respects. In ancient India, especially in the early mediaeval period, the fortune of a dynasty largely depended on the personality of the king, and the reign of a king without the necessary virtues often caused disaster, as happened during the reigns of Devavarman and Paramardi.

Besides being the administrative head of the state, the king was the military leader of the country and led continuous dynastic struggles for supremacy and sometimes even for existence ; thus the generalship of the king was of great importance. We know that Vidyadhara led his army against Sultan Mahmud and Kirtivarman fought against Laksmikarna to win back the independence of the dynasty, while Paramardi's lack of martial spirit and courage has been severely condemned by traditional writers. No doubt the king was helped by his ministers and military officers in carrying out operations on the battlefield, but the final decision as to tactics and strategy depended primarily on the king, and an important instance of such a decision without the approval of ministers and others, is given by Paramardi's offer of submission to the Moslems in A.D. 1202.[8]

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[6] EI, Vol. I, p. 126, vs. 20.

[7] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 204, line 14.

[8] Supra, pp. 97-98.

Like all other Hindu kings of the middle ages, the Candellas were greatly influenced by the stories of the Ramayana and Mahabharata, and they were often compared with the famous characters of the two epics. A Khajuraho inscription says that Nannuka's prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna.[9] The same inscription states that Vakpati by his wisdom and valour excelled the mythical kings Prithu and Kakustha.[10] The rules of conduct as depicted in the two great epics often guided the attitude of the king towards his subjects, and a Candella king claims to have surpassed even Yudhisthira by his fame and good acts.[11]

Dr. Beni Prasad says that " It was not long before public opinion and political philosophy held up to admiration the ideal of ' the big kingdom ', ' the kingdom extending up to the sea ', ' the universal dominion '. Constant efforts were made to realise the ideal in some practical form or other in reality or name ".[12] The Candella inscriptions often mention this ideal, and the rulers of the dynasty sought to achieve Samrajya and extend their kingdom. An inscription states that Dhanga, having defeated the king of Kanauj, obtained exalted sovereignty.[13] Vijayapala is said to have reached even the southernmost part of India, like Rama on his warlike expeditions.[14] Similar references are found in other inscriptions.

The Sukranitisara lays down that the king should personally inspect villages, towns and districts every year.[15] Manu states that royal officers have a natural tendency to be corrupt and oppressive ; the king should, therefore, go on tours every now and then to find out whether people

[9] EI, Vol. I, p. 141, vs. 15.
[10] Ibid., vs. 16-17.
[11] EI, Vol. I, p. 200, vs. 31.
[12] SAI, p. 4.
[13] EI, Vol. I, p. 197, vs. 3.
[14] EI, Vol. I, pp. 141-142, vs. 20.
[15] Sukra, I, 751-752.

are pleased or displeased with them.[16] This advice was regularly followed by the Candella kings. Almost all the Candella copper plates discovered record grants made by the kings while on tours of inspection in various parts of the kingdom, and some of them are issued from obscure villages.

It was always considered the duty of Hindu kings to support learned Brahmanas, to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to make gifts of land to religious and educational institutions, and to advance learning in every way. According to Sukra, the king should look out for educated men and appoint them to offices suited to their education, and he should honour every year those who attained eminence in learning and the arts, and take measures for the advancement of these activities.[17] No better instance of the practical application of these ideals in the early mediaeval period, can be found than that of the Candella kings. Not only did great kings like Dhanga and Madanavarman grant lands to the Brahmanas, but even lesser kings like Viravarman and Hammiravarman continued this custom.[18] It is striking that Trailokyavarman granted land at a time (A.D. 1205) when he was engaged in the most difficult task of winning back Kalanjara and other lost territories from the Moslems.[19] That the kings patronised poets and other learned men is evident from the frequent references to ministers and other officials as *Kavi, Balakavi, Kavindra, Kavicakravartin,* etc. in the Candella inscriptions.[20] The appointments of suitable men for suitable posts are recorded in the inscriptions, and will be discussed below. For their patronage of art and architecture the Candella rulers can be ranked among the most famous of Indian monarchs, their greatness attested by the magnificent temples and sculptures of Khajuraho.

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[16] Manu, VII, 123.
[17] Sukra, I, HDS, Vol. III, p. 164.
[18] EI, Vol. XX, pp. 737-741, 132-136.
[19] EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 272-277.
[20] EI, Vol. I, p. 129, vs. 47, p. 211, vs. 30-31.

The earlier Candella kings are given the simple royal epithets viz., Nripa, Bhupa, Raja, Ksitipa, Mahipala, etc. After their declaration of independence during the reign of Dhanga (c. A.D. 954—c. 1008), they assumed the full imperial titles, viz., Pb. M. P. Pm. Kalanjaradhipati. Only in the Rewa inscriptions, Trailokyavarman is endowed with the royal epithets given to the Kalacuri kings, viz., '*Pb. M. P. Pm. Asvapati Gajapati Narapati Trikalingadhipati*' and in one of the plates he is also called '*Kanyakubjadhipati*' and '*Trisatirajyadhipati*'.[21] In his own inscriptions, however, Trailokyavarman is given the usual Candella epithets. In the Charkhari Plate of Hammiravarman, the predecessors of the king are given the epithet Sahi along with the usual titles. Rai Bahadur Hiralal rightly suggests that "the insertion of the title Sahi against the names of all the kings mentioned indicates the growing Muhammadan influence."[22]

The succession to the throne was hereditary, and in the inscriptions the successor usually refers to himself as 'meditating on the feet of' his predecessor. When the king died childless, the younger brother succeeded to the throne. This happened in the case of Vijayasakti who succeeded his elder brother Jayasakti. The accession of Prithvivarman, the co-uterine brother of Sallaksanavarman after the death of the latter's son Jayavarman also indicates the order of succession.[23] The accession of Kirtivarman is a possible instance of the usurpation of the throne, but Kirtivarman was certainly a member of the royal family. The powerful vassals and ministers probably had some influence on a question of disputed seccession, but no definite indication of this is available from the inscriptions.

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[21] EI, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-6; IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 232, 236.

[22] EI, Vol. XX, p. 134.

[23] EI, Vol. I, p. 198, 203, vs. 12.

Nothing is known about the position of the queen in the affairs of the state. But if there be any truth in the traditional stories of the part played by Malandevi, Paramardi's queen, in carrying out negotiations with Prithviraja, organizing defence and making decisions on important problems, the Candella queen had great influence on administrative affairs. The only queen recorded to have taken active part in the benevolent activities of royalty is Kalyanadevi, the chief queen of Viravarman. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription states that she built a well with perennial water at a spot that was guarded by strong men, excavated a tank for the supply of water, and also built a hall at Nandipura.[24]

The king had absolute authority on all the affairs of the state, but like other rulers, the Candella king had also a council of ministers, of whom one was the chief minister (mantrimukhya). In military and foreign affairs he was assisted by the Senapati and the minister for peace and war (sandhivigrahika). The spirit of toleration and respect for other religions is striking among the Candella kings. As will be shown in our chapter on Religion, the Candella monarchs, though themselves worshippers of Siva and Visnu, patronised Jainism and Buddhism and carefully safeguarded their interests. The granting of land for the maintenance of the dependents of persons killed in battle[25] shows that the families of those fallen in the wars were cared for and that the king was not indifferent to the needs of his subjects.

II. The Ministers :

Ministers were one of the most important parts of the body politic. In the Candella state the ministers formed an integral part of administration and were largely responsible for the welfare of the state.

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[24] EI, Vol. I, p. 328, vs. 18-20.

[25] EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 272-277.

Ancient law writers generally prescribe that ministership should be hereditary, if the son was as capable as his father, though the Rajanitiprakasa states that the hereditary principle was to be given up, if the son or grandson of a former minister had not the necessary qualifications, but that such a descendant was to be appointed only in such state work as was suited to his attainments.[26]

This practice of hereditary succession to ministerial posts where the son was of suitable ability was strictly followed in the Candella state. The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman and the Bagheri stone inscription of Paramardi give the genealogy of two families of ministers who worked under different Candella kings, and also throw some light on the qualifications and duties of these ministers and the principle of appointment.

The Mau stone inscription mentions one Prabhasa who was of religious merit, excellencies, and eloquence ; whom good men wanted to see for their welfare. He was " a leader of those who are free from all deceit, (and) highly expert in the abstruse conduct of politics (Nayaprayoga-gahane Sudaksa)". Prabhasa, " having been duly tried (Pariksacakre), was appointed chief of all the ministers (akhilamantrimukhya) by Dhanga and Ganda ; (and) the tree of government which had struck very firm roots, when it was made to grow by being sprinkled with the water of his policy, always bore to those two kings the fruit of the three objects of life (Trivargaphalada)."[27] Prabhasa's son was Sivanaga, who had sacred knowledge like Dhisana (Brihaspati). "As soon as he (Sivanaga) had assumed the post of minister

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[26] HDS, Vol. III, pp. 107-108 ; Rajanitiprakasa, p. 176.

[27] EI, Vol. I, p. 199, vs. 20-22 ; the three objects of life are virtue, wealth and pleasure—EI, Vol. I, p. 204, fn. 70.

(Saciva) (he) alone, by his excellent conduct, gradually made the government of the king Vidyadhara one to which all the rulers of the earth were rendered for ever tributary, so that it surpassed all others on earth ".[28]

Sivanaga's son was Mahipala, who " sustaining, to its full extent the weighty burden of the important affairs of the king Vijayapala, he in whom valour was united with a blameless policy, became the standard of comparison among good ministers (Susacivesu babhuvanidarsanah)",[29] Mahipala's son was Ananta, whose younger brother was Yogesvara. After praising the good qualities of Ananta and his family the inscription records, "(Being the king's) councillor in the very high office of counselling (mantrimantradhikare sumahati), the very heart (of the king) in secret confidential matters constantly a leader of horses and elephants among enemies, a superintendent of the forces of the town (Purabaladhyaksa), an unrivalled protector, a vanquisher of adversaries...... the sole chief of all horses......in what affairs was he not the approved minister of king Kirtivarman ?". The next verse states that when a king has for his guide a minister of such great qualities, nothing is too high for that king to obtain. So, for having such an adviser, the fame of Kirtivarman surpassed even that of Yudhisthira.[30]

Gadadhara, Vamana and Pradyumna were the three sons of Ananta, and as king Sallaksanavarman admired distinguished qualities, he, after properly trying the three brothers, appointed them in offices suitable to wise, upright, and valiant men. After the death of Ananta, Gadadhara was appointed in the office of Pratihara (Chamberlain) by king Jayavarman.[31]

[28] Ibid, vs. 23-24.

[29] EI, Vol. I, p. 200, vs. 26.

[30] Ibid, vs. 27-31.

[31] Ibid, p. 201, vs. 36-37, 40. The verses are fragmentary here, but there is no doubt that the person referred to is Gadadhara and this is supported by the reading of the following verses.

Gadadhara "being a hereditary servant, born in a noble lineage, upright, of clear intellect (suciramalamatih), versed in sciences (sastravid), tried by practice (nistakarma), eloquent (vagmi), clever (daksha), resolute (pragalbha), expert in maintaining elephants, horses and chariots, skilled in archery (kritastra), secret in council (mantregudha), endowed with affection and other qualities........he subsequently was appointed chief of the ministers (mantrimukhya) by the illustrious king Prithvivarman". He continued to hold the post in the reign of Madanavarman and by applying the six expedients (sadagunadiprayoga) "he made the king's sovereignty over the earth characterised by a single umbrella".[32]

This inscription thus gives us the names of Candella ministers from the reign of Dhanga to Madanavarman, i.e. a period of about 200 years (c. 950—c. 1140). Before we discuss the other aspects of the above verses, the following genealogical table of ministers, and the position occupied by them under different kings will help us to study the subject more clearly.

FAMILY OF MINISTERS	OFFICIAL POSITION	KING
Prabhasa	Mantrimukhya	Dhanga and Ganda
Sivanaga	Saciva	Vidyadhara
Mahipala		Vijayapala
(2) Yogesvara (1) Ananta	Saciva (of various departments)	Kirtivarman
(3) Pradyumna (2) Vamana (1) Gadadhara	Pratihara	Jayavarman
—do—	Mantrimukhya	Prithvivarman
—do—	—do—	Madanavarman

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[32] EI, Vol. I, p. 201, vs. 41-42.

It is significant that only Prabhasa and Gadadhara are called Mantrimukhya, and the others are only Sacivas, though Ananta was in charge of various departments. It seems that either the royal records did not rigidly differentiate the ministerial titles, or the others were only ministers, the post of Prime minister being occupied by a member of some other family. The second assumption is supported by two other Candella inscriptions. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman records that from the race of Vastavya Kayasthas, sprang a matchless person named Jajuka "to whom even while he was in his mother's womb, quickly sped the fourteen sciences, and all the arts together". He was endowed with the title of Thakkura and was appointed

NAME	POSITION	KING
Jajuka	Sarvadhikarakarana	Ganda
Mahesvara	Visisa	Kirtivarman
Gadadhara Jaunadhara Maladhara	The first two were Pratiharas. Maladhara was only a warrior (vira).	Paramardi
Alhu	Pratoli	—do—
Sobhana	No post	
Vidana	No post mentioned but was probably a minister.	Not mentioned.
(1) Vase (2) Ananda	Vase was visisa of Ajaygadh. Ananda was Durgadhikari of Ajayagadh.	Trailokyavarman
Rucira	No post mentioned.	
Gopati Mahipala Subhata	Bhandagarapati and Kosadhikaradhipati.	Bhojavarman

by king Ganda to superintend at all times the affairs of the state (sarvadhikarakaranesu). Ganda honoured him with the grant of a village.[33]

After the death of Prabhasa, Jajuka was probably the Prime minister of Ganda and he continued to occupy the post during the reign of Vidyadhara and Vijayapala, i.e., for approximately 33 years. He was thus chief minister while Sivanaga and Mahipala of the family of the former chief minister Prabhasa were subordinate ministers. The Prime minister of Kirtivarman was Vatsaraja who is mentioned in the Deogadh Rock inscription as the Amatya mantrindra of the king. He is said to have wrested from the enemy a whole district (mandala) by his counsel and valour and to have built the fort of Kirtigiri.[34]It is to be noted that Gadadhara of the Mau inscription was only a Pratihara in the reign of Jayavarman and subsequently became the chief minister during the reign of Madanavarman and Prithvivarman. This indicates that one of the essential qualifications needed to be a Prime minister was experience and proved ability.

The principle that one should not be appointed to a high office without proved efficiency, even though born in a family of ministers, was thus apparently followed by the Candella kings. The omission of any administrative title with the name of Yogesvara (the younger brother of Ananta) may be another instance of the practical application of this principle. Pradyumna and Vamana, the two brothers of Gadadhara, were merely appointed 'to suitable offices of the state', and that only after being properly tried. This was apparently an application of the Kautilyan doctrine that amatyas are to be tested by *upadhas* i.e. by tempting them as regards dharma, artha, kama and bhaya (fear), and to be employed if found honest after only one of the four tests, while mantrins were to be appointed only if their integrity and loyalty were proved by all the tests combined.[35]

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[33] EI, Vol. I, p. 333, vs. 5-7. The fourteen sciences are 4 Vedas, the 6 Vedangas, the Mimamsa, Naya Dharmasastra and the Puranas—EI, Vol. I, p. 336, fn. 49.

This Ajaygadh inscription gives a genealogy of the Vastavya Kayastha family, some of whom occupied high positions in the state administration under different Candella kings.

EI, Vol. I, pp. 333-335.

According to Dr. N. P. Chakravàrty, who visited Ajaygadh, the person named in vs. 23 was called Ashau and not Rucira, and he was the son of Vase and not of the latter's brother Ananda, as held by Kielhorn. ASR, 1935-36, p. 93.

[34] IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 238-239.

Another echo of Kautilya's polity is found in Gadadhara's application of the six gunas. The six gunas, as defined by Kautilya are, *Sandhi,* alliance or agreement; *Vigraha,* hostility; *Asana,* an attitude of indifference; *Yana,* preparing for attack on one's enemy; *Samsrava,* seeking the support of another powerful king; and lastly, *Dvaidhibhava,* making peace with one king and adopting a hostile attitude to another.[36] The success achieved by Madanavarman is attributed in the Mau inscription to the success of the six expedients of Gadadhara, his chief minister.[37]

Another list of hereditary ministers is found in the Bagheri inscription of Paramardi. This inscription mentions one Lahada who was placed at the head of his ministers, (mantrinam dhuri) by king Madanavarman.[38] Lahada's son was Sallaksana through whom Paramardi became a lord of the earth with three eyes, and having placed the burden of government in Sallaksana's arms, he enjoyed his time in other recreations. Sallaksana subdued seditious people, removed the distress of the subjects and was full of excellent qualities. His son was Purusottama, who, though a youth, was appointed chief of his ministers by king Paramardi.[39]

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[35] Kautilya, I, 10; HDS, Vol. III, p. 105, NIA, Vol. II, 1939-40, pp. 204-207.

[36] Kautilya, VII, 1; HDS, Vol. III, p. 223.

[37] EI, Vol. I, pp. 195-207.

[38] EI, Vol. I, p. 210, vs. 19-20.

The duties entrusted to the Prime ministers according to the inscriptions agree with the suggestion of Sukra that the chief minister must be *Sarvadarsi,* i.e. the superintendent of the whole administration.[40] Besides being the administrative head, the Prime minister of the Candellas had also to look after military and even religious affairs, and the king was largely ruled by his counsel.

It is evident from the inscriptions that, besides the Prime minister, there were other ministers of the state in charge of various departments. No writer excepting Sukra specifies the different portfolios of the councillors. According to Sukra, the ministry, whose strength was to be ten, was to consist of *Purohita, Pradhana, Saciva, Mantri, Pradvivaka, Pandita, Sumantra, Amatya,* and *Duta,* but Sukra adds that according to some, the Purohita and the Duta were not to be members of the ministry.[41] In the Candella inscriptions, the offices of Purohita, Saciva, Pandita, Amatya and Duta are mentioned. Sukra defines Pradhana as the Prime minister, Pradvivaka, the minister of justice and Sumantra the minister of the treasury.[42] So the Mantrimukhya, Dharmadhikara and Bhandagarika or Kosadhipati of the Candella inscriptions may be regarded as respective synonyms of Sukra's Pradhana, Pradvivaka and Sumantra.

Dr. Kane is right in suggesting that Thakura was a mere title and not an office, whereby the holder was entitled to wield some kind of power in the state.[43] In some Candella inscriptions, the ministers and other officers are given this title.[44]

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[39] Ibid, pp. 210-211, vs. 22-24, 28.

[40] Sukra, II, 168-173.

[41] Sukra, II, pp. 141-143, 145-147.

[42] Sukra, II, pp. 168-173.

[43] HDS, Vol. III, p. 984.

Sukra calls the revenue minister Amatya and Dr. Altekar believes that his duty was "to have a correct inventory of villages, towns and forests in the country and of the income expected from each. His office also had an accurate account of the land under cultivation, and land lying fallow, as also of the expected produce from the different mines".[45] But Dr. Kane's view that the words Mantri, Saciva and Amatya are usually interchangeable, though sometimes distinguished,[46] seems applicable to the Candella administration. These three titles were frequently used in the inscriptions, and the duties and qualifications associated with their bearers indicate little difference among them.

Panditas are mentioned in nearly all the copper plates as the donees, and the term did not regularly indicate a ministerial post. Learned Brahmanas well versed in Dharmasastras and other sacred literature were apparently given this title and were patronised by the king. Similarly, the Purohita probably performed the religious ceremonies of the palace and the Panditas and Purohitas must have had some influence on the administrative affairs relating to religion and similar functions.

Another important officer of the state was the minister of foreign affairs. The Bagheri inscription of Paramardi records that one Gadadhara of the Gauda family, who was a supreme chief of poets (Kavicakravartin), the first among the learned (Vidyavatamsa), was the great minister of peace and war (Sandhivigraha-maha-saciva) of Paramardideva.[47] Another inscription mentions a Sandhivigrahika as one of the witnesses of a mortgage deed.[48] According to Sukra, the foreign minister was to be well versed in the fourfold policy of *Sama* (conciliation), *dama,* (appeasement), *danda* (war) and *bheda* (causing dissension in the enemy camp).[49] It is difficult to ascertain how much authority the minister could exercise in the affairs of peace and war. At a time of continuous dynastic struggle, it seems unlikely that the king and the Prime minister would have left any matter of real importance for a lesser minister to decide.

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[44] ASR, 1935-6, p. 90, 92.
[45] SGAI, p. 125.
[46] HDS, Vol. III, p. 104.
[47] EI, Vol. I, p. 211, vs. 30.

No definite reference to any minister of justice has been made in the Candella inscriptions. The question whether the Dharmalekhins who wrote the copper plates were judges or ministers of justice is discussed below.

III. Territory of the State :

According to Amarakosa, the words *Desa, Rastra, Visaya* and *Janapada* are synonymous.[50] Epigraphic usage of these words is not uniform. Dr. Altekar rightly concludes that the size of the administrative divisions varied in different countries in different centuries, which makes generalisation very dangerous. The Bhuktis under the Pratihara empire, according to Dr. Altekar, were rather comparable to Commissioner's Divisions than provinces, and the smaller kingdoms like those of the Candellas, Caulukyas and Palas were divided only into districts and their subdivisions.[51] In the Candella inscriptions, the terms Janapada and Rastra are not found and it seems that the state was usually termed Jejakabhukti. In the Bhagalpur Plates of Narayanapala, the sequence of local divisions is given as *Bhukti, Visaya* and *Mandala.*[52] As the Candella records do not refer to any territorial division as Bhukti, it is apparent that the whole country was originally a Bhukti of the Pratihara empire, and after becoming independent the Candellas, did not adopt any new terminology for their state. The terms Visaya and Mandala are often found in Candella records and were also in use under the Pratiharas. The Semra grant of Paramardi records the confirmation of a grant made by Madanavarman of villages in different Visayas ; here sub-divisions of the Visayas are called *Pancela, grama, dvadasaka* and *astadasaka*.[53] Two Rewa grants of Trailokyavarman record the gift of two villages within two Pattalas[54] and this supports the view that Pattala was also one of the divisions of local government and comprised a number of villages.[55]

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[48] EI, Vol. XXV, p. 2.

[49] Sukra, II, 191-193 ; SGAI, p. 123.

[50] HDS, Vol. III, p. 138.

[51] SGAI, pp. 156-157.

[52] IA, Vol. XV, pp. 304-310.

Thus, on the evidence of the inscriptions, the territorial divisions of the Candella kingdom can be defined as follows. The state as a whole was known as Jejakabhukti, and was sub-divided into many districts, called Visayas or Mandalas. These were in turn sub-divided into Pattalas which comprised several gramas. The terms Astadadasaka, Dvadasaka, etc., were used to mean a unit of eighteen villages, twelve villages and so on. The word Pancela is not known from other inscriptions, but possibly means a group of five villages.

Very little is known about the heads of these territorial sub-divisions. Most probably the Visayas or Mandalas were in charge of vassals or Samantas of the king. In the Prabodhocandrodaya, Kirtivarman's vassal Gopala is called as Sakala-Samantacakracudamani, i.e. the chief of the circle of Samantas, and is also said to have been engaged in the 'conquest of the world' of Kirtivarman.[56] The Prithviraj-Raso and the Lay of Alha also refer to various fiefs of the

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[53] EI, Vol. IV, pp. 153-170.
[54] IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 230-236.
[55] SAI, p. 449.
[56] Supra, p. 75.

Candella kingdom governed by Samantas of the king. The accounts of Raso and the Lay of Alha can hardly be used as sources of administrative history, yet in the absence of any well known terms such as Visayapati or Mandalika, it can be reasonably assumed that each district was governed by a vassal. It is striking, however, that the well known term Samanta is not found in inscriptions. Sometimes a member of the royal family was placed in charge of a district. We know that Kanhapa or Krisnapa, the brother of Dhanga, was in charge of a district near Jhansi and Dudhai, and that he called himself a Nripa. His successor Devalabdhi continued to rule the district, at first under his uncle Dhanga and afterwards under his cousin Ganda.[57] A Sati record shows that about A.D. 1308, portions of Damoh and Jubbalpore districts were governed by one Maharajaputra Vaghadeva of a Pratihara family under the sovereignty of Hammiravarman.[58] Rajaputra usually means a prince of the royal family, but Vaghadeva of the above inscription was most probably a prince of a feudal house ; such princes were often employed in high administrative posts.[59]

The villages were probably ruled by some sort of village council comprised of the important members of the village, viz., Brahmanas, Vaidyas and other respectable dignitaries, and the head of the Council was apparently mentioned in the Candella grants as the *mahattara* (elder of a town or village).

IV. The Forts or Fortified Places :

Forts constituted one of the most important elements of the early mediaeval state, and ancient authorities have stressed their necessity and importance at length.

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[57] Supra, p. 39.
[58] EI, Vol. XVI, p. 10, fn. 4.
[59] SAI, p. 405.

Yajnavalkya says that forts are meant for the safety of the king, the people and the treasury.[60] Manu advocates the construction of forts because a single archer under the shelter of the fort wall can fight a hundred of the enemy and a hundred can fight ten thousand. He says that a mountain fortress is the best of all.[61] Brihaspati quoted by the Rajanitiprakasa says that the king should construct a fort with walls and a gate for the protection of himself, his wives, the people and the wealth accumulated by him.[62] Kautilya advises the construction of forts and the establishment of the capital in one of them. He says that in the four quarters of the boundaries of the kingdom forts should be built for offering resistance to the enemy on ground naturally fitted for the purpose.[63]

The importance of the forts of Kalanjara, Ajaygadh, Mahoba and other places in the Candella state is clearly evident from its political history. The whole history of the dynasty has centred round the historic fort of Kalanjara and to a lesser degree, the fort of Ajaygadh. Time and again the fortune of the dynasty depended on the possession of Kalanjara. The extraordinary importance of forts in the Candella state was due to the geographical situation of the country and the method of warfare followed in that period. Dr. Kane rightly observes that "the capital mirrored the prosperity of the country and if properly walled also provided security."[64] Central India is mountainous, crossed by the ranges of the Vindhyas, Bhanrer and Kaimur, and the whole region is interlaced with innumerable rivers. The mountain fortresses of Kalanjara, Ajaygadh, Mahoba and other places provided security for the state and its people and made access to the heart of the country very difficult. So the physical features of the country gave unusual importance to the construction and maintenance of forts in the Candella kingdom and hence the kings paid much attention to this aspect of administration and national security. The Ajaygadh Stone inscription of Viravarman praises Trailokyavarman as "a very creator in providing strong places (durgapravidḥanavedah)".[65] A minister of Kirtivarman is recorded to have built the fort of Kirtigiri.[66]

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[60] Yajnavalkyasmriti, I, 321, HDS, Vol. III, p. 178.
[61] Manu, VIII, 74, HDS, Vol. III, p. 178.
[62] Rajanitiprakasa, p. 202.
[63] Kautilya, II, 3, 4.
[64] HDS, Vol. III, p. 178.

The forts were governed by an officer appointed by the king. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman states that one Ananda, born in the Vastavya Kayastha family of Jajuka, was appointed by Trailokyavarman as the governor of the fort of Jayapura (Durgadhikari). Ananda is credited for reducing to submission the wild tribes of Bhillas, Savaras and Pulindas.[67]

Mahesvara, an ancestor of the same family, was thoroughly familiar with every branch of letters and possessed many other good qualities. After serving Kirtivarman, he received the title of Visisa of Kalanjara along with the grant of a village from the king.[68] Ananda's elder brother was called Vase for his excellent qualities and "the minds of the people as well as that of king Trailokyavarman were about to prove submissive to him". Considering him competent for the work, Trailokyavarman appointed him in the office of Visisa over the fort named Jaya, and gave him a village for ever. Vase built a beautiful temple and a tank. He is also praised for defeating and killing Bhojuka, an enemy of Trailokyavarman.[69]

[65] EI, Vol. I, p. 327, vs. 7.
[66] IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 238-239.
[67] EI, Vol. I, p. 334, vs. 21-22.
[68] Ibid, p. 333, vs. 8-9.
[69] Ibid, p. 334, vs. 16-19. The proper name Vase evidently is an old vernacular and we cannot definitely establish how it indicates its owner's

The office of Visisa is not known to have been found in the inscriptions of any other dynasty. Dr. Ray believes it to be an administrative post, but he does not offer any suggestion as to the exact nature and duties of this officer.[70] The Visisa does not seem to have been a civil officer for both Mahesvara and Vase were appointed Visisas of the forts of Kalanjara and Ajaygadh and not of any administrative division. The Visisa cannot have been the governor of the fort, because the same inscription specifically mentions Ananda (Vase's brother) as the Durgadhikari of Ajaygadh fort. Dr. Altekar believes that in ancient Indian states there was probably an inspector-general of forts at the capital.[71] The Visisas of the Ajaygadh inscription may have had some such office, but on the other hand Vase appears to have been appointed over one fort only. It may well be that the rank of Visisa was rather a title of honour or a sinecure than governmental post.

Sukra mentions the treasurer as one of the ministers of the king and a Candella inscriptions shows that this was the case in their state. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of Bhojavarman states that Subhata, one of the members of Jajuka's family, "eagerly striving to benefit others (and) accomplishing his objects by what he engaged in, became permanently the chief superintendent of the treasury (*Koṣadhikaradhipati*) of the illustrious King Bhojavarman." The next verse praises Subhata, the lord of the treasury (*Bhandagarapati*), whose only thought was for right and prosperity, and "who, though at the head of all weighty affairs, is both trustworthy and full of knowledge, and who, as minister (*saciva*) of the illustrious king Bhoja, is widely

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"excellent qualities". It may well be a *tadbhava* form of Brihaspati or Vasudeva.

[70] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 701, fn. 2.

[71] SGAI, p. 145.

famed for qualities and who delights in bestowing on others benefits without end, and is a very store of benevolence."[72]

V. The Treasury :

Sukra calls the treasurer *Sumantra*, whereas here Subhata is mentioned as Kosadhikaradhipati and Bhandagarapati ; but that he was one of the ministers is specifically mentioned. It is well known that Kosadhikaradhipati and Bhandagarapati were usually two different officers of the treasury, but this inscription gives Subhata both the titles, which indicates that the Candella administration was not as highly developed as many others in ancient India. The inscription does not give much information about the functions of the lord of the treasury and storehouse. According to Kautilya, the superintendent of storehouse shall supervise the accounts of agricultural produce, taxes coming under the state and country-parts, commerce, barter, bagging for grains (pramityaka), grains borrowed with promise to repay (apamityaka), manufacture of rice, oils, etc., accidental revenue, statements to check expenditure, and recovery of past arrears.[73] As all the enterprises of the state were in some way concerned with the economy of the country, it is apparent that the Treasurer's views and recommendations were carefully considered by the king and the council of ministers.

A Candella Copper Plate was composed by Aksapatalika Yasobhata.[74] As Aksapatala means "Account Office" or "Record Office", the Aksapatalika must have been an officer or clerk of this office. This Aksapatalika of the Candella inscription does not appear to have been the aksapataladhyaksa of Kautilya, whose duty was to enter numerous matters in the accounts, recover the king's dues from the sureties of servants, to check embezzlement and to recover fines for loss due to neglect or fraud.[75]

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[72] EI, Vol. I, p. 335, vs. 29-30.

[73] Kautilya, II, 15.—Kautilya mentions the superintendent of the storehouse as *Kosthagaradhyaksa*.

[74] EI, Vol. XX, p. 128.

It is evident from the Land Grants that *Bhaga, Bhoga, Kara, Hiranya* and *Sulka* were the chief sources of revenue. *Kara* means taxes in general, while *Bhaga* (share) usually means the king's dues on land, trees, drugs, cattle, etc. The Amarakosa takes *Bali, Kara,* and *Bhaga* as synonyms.[76] *Sulka* usually means the tolls or customs duties levied from vendors and purchasers on merchandise exported from or imported into the kingdom or from district to district.[77] The word *Hiranya* has two senses, "gold" and "money" or "cash" whether in gold, silver or copper.[78] Here it may imply the royal rights over treasure trove and mines of precious metal. In some inscriptions the Bhogas are called *Astabhogas,* which are enumerated as the king's rights over *nidhi* (treasure-trove), *niksepa* (what is deposited on the land), *vari* (water), *asman* (stones and mines), *aksini* (actual privileges), *agami* (future profits), *siddha* (what is already brought under cultivation), *sadhya* (waste land that may in future be turned into cultivable land).[79] Though the Candella Copper Plates do not enumerate the eight Bhogas, it is probable that the word *Bhoga* actually included all these eight rights.

The Charkhari Plate of Devavarman adds to the taxes mentioned above, the right to receive *danda* or fines, and *daya,* or the property of one dying without heirs.[80]

The Copper Plates give us some interesting information about the main agricultural products of the country and the state's claim over these products, the mines and other commodities. The Mahoba Plates of Paramardi record the gift of land by the king "along with the temple and mansion (*samandirprakaram*), with the rights of easement (*sanirgamapravesam*), with trees and plants such as Sal, sugar-cane (iksu), cotton (*karpasa*) flowers, hemp, mango, madhuka etc., with forests, mines (*khani*), hollows, quarries, and iron etc., with animals, deer and birds, aquatic or otherwise and other objects within the boundaries".[81]

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[75] Kautilya, II, 7.

[76] HDE, Vol. III, p. 190.

[77] Sukra, IV, 2, pp. 212-213. According to Kautilya Sulka was levied at the city gate (II. 21).

[78] HDS, Vol. II, p. 124, fn. 164.

[79] EI, Vol. XV, p. 22 ; HDS, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 865.

[80] EI, Vol. XX, p. 128.

Vaidya thinks that because the above things were important agricultural products of the country, they have been specially mentioned in the inscription.[82] Dr. Altekar is doubtful whether the state claimed ownership in these trees growing in private lands and he suggests that it probably had claims only on mango and madhuka groves on waste lands.[83] Mines were regarded as state property, some worked by the government and the others were leased out to people who had to pay a heavy excise duty ; only in the lands granted by the king could the donee dig the ground for metals without the payment of any fee.[84] That the state had claims over mines and useful metals is known from inscriptions and works of ancient writers. As the Candellas are not known to have any extensive foreign trade or any other special source of income, it can naturally be expected that the state claimed some right over the chief agricultural products of the country.

The economic condition of the Candellas in general must usually have been very prosperous. The construction of the beautiful temples, massive tanks and water reservoirs, and forts of Khajuraho, Kalanjara, Mahoba, Ajaygadh and other places, testifies to the vast amount of wealth that was in the

[81] EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 13-14.
[82] DHI, Vol. II, pp. 460-461.
[83] SGAI, p. 211.
[84] SGAI, p. 205.

treasury. Vidyadhara's preparation against Sultan Mahmud must have cost him an enormous sum of money. It is significant that most of the Candella temples were built between c. A.D. 950—1050, the best period of the dynasty both politically and economically. The wealth of the Candellas is also indicated by the fact that even as late as in A.D. 1233, the fifth share of the booty of Kalanjara, which was the perquisite of Sultan Iltutmish, amounted to twenty five laks of coins.[85]

VI. The Army :

The army or military department was a vital part of the state administration, and according to Sukra, about 25% of the revenue was to be spent on the fighting forces.[86] In the early mediaeval period the importance of the army was greater than ever before, and all the dynasties had to maintain large armies for their security. The main threat came from the neighbouring rulers and the Moslem invaders.

The army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephants. Krishna Misra mentions the use of chariots in the battlefield and another inscription mentions a minister as expert in riding chariots.[87] But chariots were obsolete by this time and it is clear that the reference to them was merely conventional. Bows and arrows, spears and swords were the principal arms of the army. Elephants and horses played a dominant part in war and the importance of the elephants has been stressed by various authorities. According to Kautilya and other sources, the destruction of the enemy's forces and victory depended on elephants,[88] though one Mahabharata passage states that an army in which the infantry predominates remains firm but that cavalry and chariots are only efficient when there is no rain.[89] Vidyadhara, according to Moslem historians, collected a vast army against Sultan Mahmud in A.D. 1022, the figures of which, given by different accounts, are as follows.[90]

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[85] Supra, p. 101.
[86] Sukra, I. pp. 631-635.
[87] EI, Vol. I, p. 201, vs. 41.
[88] Kautilya II, 2 : VII. II ; HDS. Vol. II , p. 203.

	Horsemen	Foot soldiers	Elephants
Nizammudin	.. 36,000	145,000	390
Ibn ul Athir	.. 56,000	184,000	746
Gardizi	.. 36,000	145,000	640
Firishta	.. 36,000	45,000	640

(Dr. Ray rightly corrects it as 145,000)

The general agreement among the Moslem historians regarding the vast numbers of the army tends to suggest that these figures are not excessively exaggerated. But even if we reduce the number by half, as Cunningham believes we should, it was just two-thirds of the strength of the Sikh army left by Ranjit Singh, and greater than the Gwalior army which opposed Lord Ellenborough.[91]

The head of the army was the Senapati. According to the Agni and Matsya Puranas, the Commander-in-Chief must be either a Brahmana or a Ksatriya.[92] Sukra says that a Ksatriya should be preferred as Senapati, but if a valiant Ksatriya be not available, a Brahmana may be chosen, but a Vaisya or a Sudra should not be selected.[93] Reference to a Senapati is found in one Candella inscription, where king Paramardi is recorded to have granted land to a Brahmana Senapati named Madanapalasarman.[94] The Candella inscriptions do not mention any officers in charge of the departments of the army, but a Prime minister is praised for having qualities fitting him for managing all the departments, and another minister is described as in charge of horses and elephants.[95] It is thus evident that the military department was not clearly separated from civil administration, and officers like the Prime minister and other ministers were expected to know the art of warfare and to lead the army in the battlefield if necessary.

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[89] Santiparva, 100, 24, c.f.; HDS, Vol. III, p. 203.

[90] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 690, fn. 2.

[91] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 78.

[92] HDS, Vol. III, p. 127.

[93] Sukra, II, pp. 865-866.

[94] IA, Vol. XXV, p. 207.

The Durgadhikari and Visisas were undoubtedly concerned with the military department and took part in actions. Forts were an essential part in the scheme of national defence,[96] and as we have already seen, were specially important to the Candella army.[97]

The word Rauta is very often found in the Candella inscriptions. One Rauta Sihada, who was Ksatriya by caste, built a cautra in Jayapuradurga for all people. In the same place another Rauta built a well on the road during a famine, for the use of all people.[98] A Rauta, born of a Brahmana family, is mentioned in a Rewa grant of Trailokyavarman.[99] An Ajaygadh Rock inscription concludes with the line, " during the office of the Rauta, the illustrious Jetana (*Rauta*) *Sri Jetana Vyapare*) in the reign of illustrious Viravarman".[100] Cartellieri regarded Rauta as a Prakrit or hybrid form of Rajaputra, implying that Rauta of the Semra Plates of Paramardi was a title given to a Brahmana.[101]

The term Rauta cannot have been a mere title, for two other inscriptions show that the Rauta was a military officer, who could either be Brahmana or Ksatriya by caste, or a distinguished horseman or trooper.[102] In the Garra Plates, Trailokyavarman grants land by way of maintenance for death (*mrityuka-vritti*) to Rauta Samanta, whose father

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[95] EI, Vol. I, p. 200, vs. 30; p. 201, vs. 41.
[96] SGAI, p. 145.
[97] Supra, pp. 133-137.
[98] ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 49-50.
[99] IA, Vol. XVII, p. 235.
[100] EI, Vol. I, p. 328.
[101] EI, Vol. IV, p. 154.
[102] Kittel-Kannade—English Dictionary.

Rauta Pape was killed at Kakadadaha in a fight with the Turuskas.[103] King Viravarman is also recorded to have granted land to one Rauta Abhi, for performing a deed of valour in battle.[104] That the Rautas were concerned with military affairs is apparent from these two inscriptions, and the reference to a Rauta Jetana as an administrative officer can be easily explained ; hence such officers often worked both in the civil and military departments. It is also possible that Jetana was an old Rauta who was appointed by the king to a civil office.

The word *Mrityuka-Vritti* is not found in any other inscription. According to Dr. Barnett it was a grant to maintain the heirs of one who has sacrificed his life, which in Kanarese is styled *nettar-godage* 'blood gift',[105] and this interpretation appears to be borne out by the context. This inscription shows that Trailokyavarman followed the high principle that it is the duty of the king to support the wives of those who meet death or calamities in the king's service.[106] Kautilya prescribes land grants to various officers as emoluments, but witihout power to sell or mortgage. He says that the sons and wives of those who die while on duty should get subsistence and wages.[107] Sukra strongly objects to the granting of land to officers and says that even if the king does so, the land should be held only for the lifetime of the officer.[108] The land given by Trailokyavarman to the Rauta whose father was killed in the battle is without conditions and is given for ever ; so also is the grant made by Hammiravarman to one of his valiant Rautas. These indicate that sacrifice of life or gallantry on the battlefield was honoured by the Candella kings, and in recognising their service, the Candellas went even further than the authorities advocated.

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[103] EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 275-276.

[104] EI, Vol. XX, pp. 132-133.

[105] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 723, fn. 2. The term might also be tentatively explained as a grant of land for life, as distinct from the usual form of grant in perpetuity.

[106] HDS, Vol. III, p. 152.

[107] Kautilya, II, I ; HDS, Vol. III, p. 152.

[108] Sukra I, pp. 421-422.

VII. The Friends or Allies :

The seventh or the last constituent part of the state was Mitra, i.e. friendly rulers of other countries. It is, however, extremely doubtful how far this element of the traditional classification corresponded to actual conditions in the early mediaeval period. After the fall of the Pratihara empire, the chief ambition of all the dynasties was to become the paramount power in north-western and central India at the expense of the others. No king could rely on the friendship of another. Vidyadhara Candella, we know, was respected and assisted by Arjuna, the Kaccapaghata ruler of Dubkund. Kirttiraja, the Kaccapaghata ruler of Gwalior, may also have been in friendly terms with him. But they were actually tributaries of the mighty Vidyadhara, rather than allies.[109] Immediately after Vidyadhara's death the Kaccapaghatas of Dubkund transferred their allegiance to the powerful Bhoja Paramara. Bhoja Paramara and Gangeyadeva were also on friendly terms with Vidyadhara ; but this relation was due to fear, as is clearly stated in a Candella inscription, and Gangeyadeva's attack on the Candella kingdom only a few years later reveals the nature of this friendship.[110]

Kirtivarman also entered into an alliance with the Caulukyas, Paramaras and Palas. The object of this alliance was to defeat Laksmikarna, the common enemy. Once this was achieved the alliance broke to pieces, as is evident from

[109] Supra, pp. 54, 65-66.

[110] Supra, pp. 65-66, 68-69.

Madanavarman's wars with the Paramaras and Caulukyas.[111] Jajjaladeva, the Kalacuri ruler of Ratnapura, refers to friendship with the Candellas.[112] This was probably a tribute to the newly obtained success of the Candellas against Laksmikarna, and we hear nothing more about the friendship between the two dynasties. The alleged friendship between the Gahadavalas and the Candellas, as we have already seen, is very doubtful. Thus we have hardly any evidence of lasting friendly relations between the Candellas and any other kings. A study of the political history of the period makes it abundantly clear that no king could count on the friendship of another at that time, and the alliances made during the period may be regarded as an exposition of the last of the six gunas advocated by Kautilya, *dvaidhibhava,* making peace with one king and adopting a hostile attitude to another.

VIII. Works of Public Utility :

The undertaking of works of public utility was highly recommended by moralists from very ancient times. The Visnu Dharmasastra states that "one who digs a well for the public is saved from the fruit of half his sins when the water has begun to flow forth."[113] Bana mentions that the Smritis enjoined upon men the foundation for public use of halls, shelters, wells, gardens, embankments, etc.[114] Some writers even say that the reward of sacrifices is only heaven, but by *purta,* i.e. consecration of temples, tanks and gardens, one is released from Samsara.[115] This shows that charitable works for the use of the public or large sections of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious than sacrifices, in the gifts of which only the Brahmanas benefitted.[116]

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[111] Supra, pp. 86-87, 89-90.
[112] EI, Vol. I, p. 35, vs. 21.
[113] Ch. 91, 1-2 ; HDS, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 890.
[114] Kadambari, para. 44.
[115] HDS, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 890.

That works of public utility, especially irrigation, were extensively carried out in the Candella kingdom, is known from inscriptions of the dynasty. In a Khajuraho inscription Yasovarman is praised for building a temple and excavating a tank (tadagarnavam).[117] Viravarman's queen Kalyanadevi is recorded to have built a well (kupa), a tank (kasạra) and a hall (*mandapa*).[118] One Pahila made a gift to Brahmanas of a number of gardens (vatika)[119] and Kokkala in his inscriptions records the grant of certain buildings for Brahmanas.[120] Vatsaraja, a minister of Kirtivarman, built a flight of steps (ghata) apparently for a *vapi*.[121] A minister of Madanavarman is praised for building a temple, and a tank (tadaga) and for executing other works of piety.[122] A Rauta built a *sirotha* (of doubtful meaning) for all people, and another Rauta built a cautra.[123] A third Rauta built a Bauli (well) for the use of all, beside a road during a famine.[124]

According to the Ŝmritis, water reservoirs dug out by men are of four kinds, viz. *ḳupa, vapi, pusḳarini* and *tadaga*. Kupa is usually defined as a well of five to fifty cubits in length or diameter. Vapi is a well with a flight of steps on all sides or on three, two or one side only and its mouth varies from 50 to 100 cubits. A *pusḳarini* (pond) is between 100 to 200 cubits in length or diameter, and a tadaga is from 200 to 800 cubits.[125] As we have already seen, the Candella inscriptions record the construction of all kinds of water reservoirs, except the *puskarini.*

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[116] Ibid.
[117] EI, Vol. I, p. 144, vs. 38.
[118] EI, Vol. I, p. 328, vs. 18-20.
[119] EI, Vol. I, p. 136.
[120] EI, Vol. I, p. 150.
[121] IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 238-239.
[122] EI, Vol. I, p. 202, vs. 46-48.
[123] ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 49-50.
[124] Ibid.
[125] HDS, Vol. II, p. II, p. 893.

In the Sabhaparva, the king is advised to look after the irrigation of the land so that agriculture may not depend on the rains alone.[126] Sukra says that the king should see to the adequate supply of water in the country by digging wells, wells with steps, tanks, lakes, etc.[127] The great attention paid by the Candella kings to this problem is testified by the number of tanks and lakes that still exist in different parts of the former kingdom of the dynasty. In Mahoba the Rahilya Sagar and a fine temple on its embankment are regarded as monuments of the reign of Rahila. The Kirat Sagar, one and a half miles in circumference, is known to be the work of Kirtivarman. Madanavarman also caused the excavation of a lake, three miles in circuit, which is known as Madanasagar. This is the most picturesque of all the lakes. A tank in Ajaygadh is known to have been built by Paramardi. The Vijayasagar, apparently named after Vijayapala, is very deep and is about 4 miles in circuit. Another small lake, the Kalyansagar, was probably built by queen Kalyanadevi.[128]

IX. Other Officers of the State :

In some cases the officials who drafted the Candella Copper Plates call themselves *Dharmalekhin.*[129] Dr. Ray thinks that they were probably law writers,[130] but Cartilleri translates Dharmalekhin as the recorder of charitable gifts.[131] The Dharmalekhin of the Semra Plates of Paramardi is said to have rendered meritorious services and is praised as a collection of all good qualities (*sakalagunagananam*).[132] The Dharmalekhins were probably a class of professional clerks who wrote the grants in accordance with the sacred laws, and were apparently expected to know the art of drafting legal documents and charters.

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[126] HDS, Vol. III, p. 162.

[127] Sukra, IV, 4, 125-29.

[128] I.A, Vol. XXXVII, p. 132 ; ASR, Vol. II, pp. 439-440.

[129] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 208, line 19. EI, Vol. IV, p. 170.

[130] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 707.

[131] EI, Vol. IV, p. 156.

A Khajuraho inscription of Dhanga was composed when "the illustrious priest of the royal household Yasodhara was acting in the office of Dharmadhikara".[133] The Dharmadhikarin was no doubt a judge, but it is difficult to say whether he was the Chief Justice, since it is not clear that his post was a unique one.

The *Prabodhacandrodaya* and the inscriptions mention the Pratihara (chamberlain), whose duty was to present visitors or guests to the king. As the Pratihara was very near the king's person[134] and was often present on important occasions, his post was a prominent one. The Pratihara of king Paramardi is praised as "beloved of good men", "a favourite counsellor (sacivavirama)", and "a wise man".[135] The same inscription states that the brother of this pratihara shared work with him and always delighted in deeds of war, and that the two brothers fought on the Kalanjara mountain.[136] This indicates that the Pratiharas had to take part in battle if situation demanded. There was probably more than one Pratihara as appears from one Candella inscription which mentions a Mahapratihara.[137]

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[132] EI, Vol. IV, pp. 156-170.

[133] EI, Vol. I, p. 146, vs. 56.

[134] EI, Vol. I, p. 206, vs. 40.

[135] EI, Vol. I, p. 333, vs. 10.

[136] Ibid, vs. 11.

[137] The Kalanjara Pillar inscription of Madanavarman mentions the names of Mahapratihara Samgramasimha and Mahanacani Padmavati. According to Cunningham they were the two permanent attendants attached to the Nilkantha shrine—one being the chief door keeper, and the other, the chief of the dancing girls. (ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 34)—but Dr. Ray's suggestion that Samgramasimha was an official of the state and Padmavati was the chief court danseuse seems more probable. (DHNI, Vol. II, p. 705).

A Khajuraho inscription of Dhanga was written by Karanika Jauddha who knew the Sanskrit language[138] One of the Rewa grants of Trailokyavarman was also written by a Karanika.[139] Kielhorn translates Karanika as a writer of legal documents,[140] but he was more probably a government servant in charge of registration or of a state department or office.[141]

The writers of some of the Candella inscriptions are also mentioned as Kayasthas.[142] A Rewa grant of Trailokyavarman was drawn up by the Kayastha Muktasimha, "by whom the reign of the child prince was made a prosperous one, and his fame spotless."[143] According to Dr. Kane, the Kayastha was a scribe or writer in the revenue department of the king.[144] Dr. Beni Prasad believes that a number of secretaries or clerks were attached to the central and to the subordinate offices, and were subdivided into grades, and that Kayastha was the general term applied to them.[145] The Rewa inscription, however, strongly suggests that the Kayasthas were not merely scribes or clerks, but had considerable administrative power. It is, of course, possible that the Kayasthas were usually civil officers or clerks, but Muktasimha enjoyed some special power and privileges, probably for his past services and experience. It may also be that Kayastha had already become the name of a caste and had no governmental significance.

The Atavikas mentioned in the Copper Plates were government officers in charge of forests and wild tribes, and some authorities mention the Atavi or atavika as one of the six kinds of troops.[146]

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[138] EI, Vol. I, p. 129, vs. 48.
[139] IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 236.
[140] EI, Vol. I, p. 135.
[141] EAI, p. 407 ; HDS, Vol. III, p. 979.
[142] EI, Vol. I, p. 147 ; IA, Vol. XVII, p. 234.
[143] IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 231-234.
[144] HDS, Vol. III, p. 979.
[145] SAI, p. 406.

The administration of the streets or wards of the towns (Pratoli) was entrusted to an officer who lived in the fort, and whose duty was to keep down wickedness.[147]

Other people in the service of the state known from the inscriptions are,—Sutradhara, architect or builder of temples,[148] Chitrakara, painters who were " well versed in the science of all arts and "[149] Rupakara, who built images and also engraved inscriptions.[150] The engraver of an inscription is also mentioned as Uccakara,[151] and the composers of inscriptions are often referred to as Kavi, Kavindra (lord of poets), and Balakavi (young poet, perhaps a beginner), and as very learned in grammar (savdanusasanavidah).[152] Five inscriptions of Paramardi's reign were engraved by one Palhana, who in an inscription of A.D. 1165 calls himself a pitalahara (brass worker) ; in A.D. 1170 he calls himself a silpin (artist) ; in 1172 he calls himself a vijnanin (skilful artist), while in two inscriptions of A.D. 1175 and 1177 he calls himself a Vaidagdhi Visvakarman (a master of art and craft). His inscription of A.D. 1177 (i.e. his last inscription) does not, however, show much improvement in his engraving.[153] The engraver of a Rewa Plate of Trailokyavarman was the grandson of a worker in iron (ayaskara).[154]

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[146] The other five are—maula (hereditary), bhrta or bhrtaka or bhritya (hired troops), sreni (guilded troops) mitra (troops of an ally or friendly power or feudatory), and amitra (troops that once belonged to the enemy)—HDS, Vol. III, p. 200.

[147] EI, Vol. I, pp. 333-334, vs. 13.

[148] EI, Vol. I, p. 146, vs. 60 ; ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 49.

[149] MASI, No. 8, p. 2.

[150] EI, Vol. I, p. 129.

[151] EI, Vol. I, p. 328, vs. 22.

[152] EI, Vol. I, pp. 129, 211.

[153] EI, Vol. XX, p. 128 ; XVI, pp. 9-10 ; EI, Vol. IV, pp. 156, 170.

[154] IA, Vol. XVII, p. 236.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIETY, RELIGION, ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

(i) Society :

The Candella inscriptions throw very little light on the social structure of the kingdom and only a few passing references are found, mostly in the Copper Plates and inscriptions of the ministerial families. Even the contemporary Sanskrit drama, *Prabodha-Candrodaya* is not of much use for a study of the social conditions, though it is of value for our section on Religion. However, with the help of the scanty materials available, we shall try to outline the essential features of Candella society.

In our period, the supremacy of the Brahmanas and the great honour and privileges enjoyed by them are clearly evident. In the inscriptions the Brahmanas are mentioned with their Sakha, Gotra and Pravaras. The Semra Plates of Paramardi record grants made to no less than 309 Brahmanas, all of whom are mentioned with their Gotras, Pravaras and Sakhas.[1] The constant emphasis on the Gotra and Sakha shows that the orthodox Brahmanical system was fully in force.

That the Brahmanas devoted themselves to religious studies is known from the inscriptions, one of which states that a Brahmana donee "was ever ready to expound the Vedas, the Vedangas, Itihasa, the Puranas and Mimamsa, and was devoted to Sat-karma".[2] Other inscriptions and the *Prabodha-Candrodaya* also praise the Brahmanas for their knowledge and education. But it cannot be said that they devoted themselves only to the study of religious books. Inscriptions clearly mention other activities of the Brahmanas, and, as we have already noticed, they often acted as Senapatis, Dharmadhikarins, and Rautas in the Candella kingdom.[3] The Bagheri stone inscription of Paramardi gives the genealogy of a Brahmin family, who served as officers of the Candella kings for five generations.[4]

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[1] EI, Vol. IV, pp. 158, 170-174 ; EI, Vol. XX, pp. 127-127. The gotras most often mentioned are Bharadvaja, Vasistha and Krishnatreya.

[2] EI, Vol. XX, pp. 126-128. The six duties of Brahmanas are, 'studying or repeating the veda (adhyayana)', 'teaching the vedas (adhyapana)', 'offering sacrifices (yajana)', 'conducting them for others (yajana)', 'giving (dana) and accepting gifts (pratigraha)'.

The Candella inscriptions often mention the Brahmanas as Pandita, Thakura, Bhatta etc., which from the contexts, were no doubt titles, and not surnames as suggested by Vaidya,[5] though they certainly became surnames in more recent times. The donees, who were always Brahmanas, usually came from Agraharas often called Bhattagraharas or Bhattagramas, terms applied to the villages granted to Brahmanas by the kings or others.

Only two specific mentions of the Ksatriya caste are found in the Candella records. The Ajaygadh Stone inscription of Paramardi's time records the building of a cautra by one Rauta Sihada, son of Rauta Santana of the Ksatriya caste.[6] Another inscription refers to a Rauta who was also a Ksatriya.[7] This apparent rarity of Ksatriyas is satisfactorily explained by Mr. Seth's suggestion that the Ksatriyas had lost the custom of maintaining caste divisions, and thus the practice of mentioning their caste was not popular during this period. The Kula or family became the most important factor in their lives and this resulted in the extinction of the previous practice of mentioning the caste. According to Mr. Seth, the rise of the new dynasties in northern India in the middle ages, chiefly contributed to the importance of the Kula or family.[8]

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[3] Supra, pp. 141-142, 148.

[4] EI, Vol. I, pp. 207-214.

[5] DHL, Vol. II, pp. 376-377.

[6] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 49-50. The word 'cautra' is not satisfactorily explained. It was probably a rest-house for pilgrims.

[7] Ibid., p. 49.

This contention is strongly supported by the Candella epigraphic records, which put great stress on the Vamsa or Kula of the people mentioned in the inscriptions. Kings, ministers and others mostly mention their respective families, but not their caste. All who enjoyed high position in society, except the Brahmanas, wanted their families to be known, and always enthusiastically enumerated the good qualities and deeds of their stock. An inscription of a Grahapati family (i.e. Suryavamsa) gives us some idea of the ideals of a good and respectable family. This states that one Atiyasovala of the Grahapati family supported the families of friends and dependents, excavated tanks full of water and built temples, and thus became honoured and famous. His son Mahata secured the three objects of life (i.e. religion, wealth and pleasure) in a blameless manner. Mahata's successors, Jayadeva and Sekkalla, were famous for their good deeds. Sekkalla's son Kokkala was endowed with good qualities, and always bestowed food, clothes, horses, couches, seats, umbrellas, shoes, grains and dwelling places on worthy recipients. He was also engaged in other works of piety and built a wonderful town with high archways and gates of great value.[9] A Rewa grant of Trailokyavarman gives a similar genealogy of the family of Mahapranaka Kumarapala of the Kaurava Vamsa, who were probably Ksatriyas.[10]

Candella epigraphic records indicate that by the beginning of the 11th century, the Kayasthas had become one of the main castes in this part of India, and the Rewa Stone inscription of K. C. 800 gives a mythical account of the origin of the Kayastha caste.[11] The prominence gained by the Kayasthas as a caste is evident from an inscription which runs as follows :—"There were thirty six towns, purified by the fact that men of the writer caste dwelt in them (Karana-karma-nivasaputa) (and) more (than other towns) endowed with great comfort. Among them the most excellent, thought of as the abode of gods, was Takkarika, an object of envy......(And) in this (town) which by crowds (of students) was made to resound with the chants of the Vedas, there were born in the Vastavya family those Kayasthas whose fame was filled (and rendered) white like swans all the worlds, illumining the quarters."[12] This inscription shows that the Kayasthas, like the Ksatriyas, were even more proud of their families than of their caste ; and in a grant of Paramardi, the writer calls himself a member of the Vastavya Vamsa without mentioning his caste.[13] The Kayasthas no doubt enjoyed a high position in society, and were apparently regarded as a class of intellectuals, who, besides having knowledge of the ancient books, knew the art of civil administration.

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[8] IC, Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 52-53.
[9] EI, Vol. I, pp. 149-150.
[10] ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-148 ; IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 230-234.

No mention of the terms Vaisya and Sudra is found in the inscriptions, which indicates that the people of the low castes were known by their profession rather than by their class. This is supported by the Dahi Plate of Viravarman, which records that before making a land grant Viravarman assembled all the local Brahmanas, Kayasthas, Harkaras, cow-herds, goat-herds, orchard-keepers and all other classes, high and low.[14] Other Copper Plates also mention the people by their profession, viz., dutas, vaidyas, medas, chandalas, etc.

Though there is no direct evidence of the nature of the

[11] EI, Vol. XXIV, pp. 108-109.
[12] EI, Vol. I, p. 333, vs. 2, 4.
[13] EI, Vol. IV, p. 156.
[14] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 75.

caste system at that period, yet it is apparent that it had become very rigid and any suggestion of its abolition or comment on its nature was regarded as reprehensible if not sinful, especially by the Brahmanas. A veiled attempt to justify the caste system is found in the *Prabodha-Candrodaya*, where Mahamoha (i.e. great illusion) questions the justice of class distinctions between human beings who are formed with bodies possessing the same organs.[15] This shows that according to Krishna Misra, only people suffering from illusion could raise such questions, and to show the baseness of Mahamoha's ideals, the latter is presented as disputing the moral of the principle that the wife should belong only to the husband.[16] Krishna Misra was a staunch Vaisnavite and it is only natural to find him denouncing one who is not a worshipper of Visnu and one who opposes the caste system. This passage shows, however, that even at this late period, equalitarian criticism of the caste system was not completely unheard of.

Practically nothing is known of the position of women in Candella society. Queens have been mentioned in a few inscriptions, but only one is recorded to have done something for the people.[17] The Lay of Alha and the Prithviraj-Raso often mention the women, especially of the royal household, who sometimes had great influence on the affairs of the country. It is, however, impossible to make any generalisation out of these traditional accounts.

Apparently marriage was strictly confined to people of the same caste, as is shown by a Khajuraho inscription, which states that Harsa Candella married a suitable lady of equal caste, who sprang from the Cahamana family.[18] The practice of the Sati rite is recorded in many inscriptions.

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[15] II, pp. 69-70 ; Trans. p. 17.
[16] Ibid.
[17] EI, Vol. I, pp. 327-328.
[18] EI, Vol. I, p. 126, vs. 20-21.

A general picture of the society is depicted in an inscription which states that Harsa's fame had spread, "in the halls of princes, where sages dwell, where good people meet in the village, in the assemblages of the lowly, among the rows of shops of merchants, where streets cross, where wanderers talk together on the road, and in the huts of the dwellers of the forest."[19] This classification of society based on profession, education and environment, is perhaps not far from Indian society as it is today.

(ii) Religion :

The Candellas were devout worshippers of Siva and Visnu. The majority of the inscriptions begin with an invocation of either of the two gods and most of the temples of Khajuraho are dedicated to them. In the inscriptions Siva is variously worshipped as Mahadeva, Visvanatha, Mahesvara, Kedara and Vrisabha. An image of Nandi, one of the two chief attendants of Siva, and an image of a bull, the Vahana of Siva, have been found at Khajuraho.[20] The Copper Plates of the dynasty refer to Siva as one who holds the moon (from whom the Candellas claimed descent) on his head. The biggest temple of Khajuraho is dedicated to Siva and is nowadays known as the Kandariya Mahadeva temple. A large number of Siva lingams have also been found in Khajuraho.

Visnu is also often mentioned in the inscriptions, and many images of him have been found in the Candella country. The Caturbhuja temple of Visnu is one of the best known temples of Khajuraho.[21] The Narasimha, 'The Man-Lion incarnation', the Varahavatara, 'the Boar incarnation', and the Vamanavatara, 'the Dwarf incarnation', were the most popular forms in which Visnu was worshipped in the country. He is also mentioned as the destroyer of enemies and as Vasudeva, a title generally at this time applied to his most famous incarnation, Krishna.

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[19] EI, Vol. I, pp. 128-129, vs. 40.
[20] ASR, Vol. II, p. 423.
[21] Caturbhuja is further epithet of Visnu.

The allegorical Sanskrit drama, *Prabodha-Candrodaya* of Krishna Misra tries to show the greatness of the Advaita system of philosophy, and it propagates devotion to Visnu (visnubhakti) as the only true religion. The reader of the *Prabodha-Candrodaya* may be inclined to think that Vaisnavism and Saivism were two distinctly separate religious doctrines in the Candella country. But this is far from the truth. In the inscriptions, Visnu and Siva are often mentioned with the same respect and devotion, and there are inscriptions which begin with the invocation of Siva and later praise both Siva and Visnu.[22] A temple of Khajuraho was dedicated both to Siva and Visnu,[23] and images of one god have often been found in the other's temples.

Other gods frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, or to whom temples have been dedicated, or whose images have been found, are—Parvati, Ganesa, Laksmi, Sarasvati, Surya, Indra, Candra, Krishna, Ramacandra, Brahma, and Hanuman, the monkey god.[24] The consecration of images in temples (devata pratista) was recommended in the Puranas as a work of great religious merit, and especial emphasis was put on the consecration of the images of Visnu and Siva, and of the Sivalingam.[25] The Candella kings followed this practice and inscriptions of the ministers and other important dignitaries record the erection of images and temples.[26] "Abandoning of the body" in sacred water after attaining a very old age, as was done by Dhanga and Kirtivarman's minister Ananta, was one of the religious customs prevalent in the country.[27]

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[22] EI, Vol. I, p. 327.

[23] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 132.

[24] Parvati was also known in the Candella kingdom as Kali, Ambika, Tara, Triupra, Kamaksya, Harasiddhi, Camunda and Kalika.

[25] HDS, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 896-897.

[26] ASR, 1935-36, p. 92 ; EI, Vol. I, p. 211, vs. 25-26, p. 335, vs. 31.

The granting of lands to Brahmanas was regarded as the highest act of religious merit in ancient India. Ancient law-writers say that, whatever sin a man may commit when in straightened circumstances, he is purified therefrom by making a gift of only as much land as would be covered by the hide of a cow.[28] One sacred text says that "gifts of gold, cows and land save even the wicked."[29] The Candella Copper Plates show that the Candella kings granted land in strict accordance with the rites prescribed in the sacred literature. Yajnavalka states that apart from the daily duty of making gifts, gifts must be made on special occasions and if so made are more meritorious than the gifts made daily.[30] According to Laghu satatapa "a gift must be made on the first day of each ayana (the sun's passage to the north or south), at the beginning of Sadasiti and while an eclipse of the sun or moon is in progress and the rewards of the gifts made on those occasions are inexhaustible."[31] The Candella inscriptions often mention the kings making gifts of gold, cows, corn, umbrellas, etc. to Brahmanas, but all the Copper Plates discovered show that the grants were made on auspicious days. One of the two land grants of Devavarman was issued on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death.[32] The purpose of the land grant was to acquire religious merit not only for the donor but also for his parents and the Candella Grants also mention this. Before donating land the king had to go through religious ceremonies ; the verses recording these ceremonies usually run as follows :—

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[27] EI, Vol. I, p. 206.
[28] HDS, Vol. II, pt. II pp. 858-9.
[29] Ibid., p. 859.
[30] Yajnyavalka, I, 203.
[31] HDS, Vol. II, p. II, p. 852 ; Laghu satatapa (145-153).
[32] IA, Vol. XVI, p. 206.

"The king had bathed according to the rule in the water of a sacred tirtha, had satisfied gods, men and manes, had worshipped, after an adoration of the sun, the lord of the movable and immovable, the divine husband of Bhavani, and had offered an oblation in fire." The gift was completed by the donor's pouring out of water, purified by the Kusa grass, on the hands of the donee and the latter's expressing his acceptance by uttering the word Svasti.[33]

According to the ancient law writers, the donor of land enjoys bliss in heaven for sixty thousand years and he who destroys (or resumes) the gift or who abets its destruction dwells in hell for the same period.[34] The Candella Copper Plates also record that the grant is not to be taken away or to be resumed and ask future kings to protect it. Of the fifteen Candella Copper Plates found, only one is a confirmation of a grant made by a former king.[35] This indicates that land grants were generally respected by later kings, and no confirmation was necessary at the beginning of a new reign.

Epigraphic evidence indicates that different schools of philosophy, such as Sankhya, Nyaya, Mahabhasya, etc., were well-known to the learned people of the country. But the Moslem invasion and the existence of various doctrines antagonistic to the fundamental ideals of the Vedas fostered the growth of a sense of unity among the followers of the different philosophies. This is clearly stated in the *Prabodha-Candrodaya* which says "when a common enemy attacks the sastras, which though descended from the same source, are at mutual variance, they form an auspicious coalescence ; and thus notwithstanding the internal disagreement of the sastras, which proceed from the Vedas, they all unite in defending the Vedas, and in repelling the materialists."[36]

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[33] JOUPHS, Vol. XXIII, pts., I & II, p. 248 ; EI, Vol. IV, p. 155. The other occasions of land grants were Solar eclipse, Lunar eclipse, Samkranti, Full-moon day, Pusyarka Yoga :—JOUPHS, Vol. XXIII, p. 246-247.

[34] HDS, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 862-3.

[35] EI, Vol. IV, p. 158.

Buddhism and Jainism were also prevalent in the Candella kingdom, and many magnificent Jaina and Buddhist temples are still in existence in Khajuraho. Statues of Buddha and the Buddhist goddess Tara have been found[37] and references to Santinatha, Sambhanatha, Adinatha and Parsvanatha, the Jaina tirthankaras are found in some Jaina inscriptions. As in all other parts of India, Buddhism was on the decline in the Candella country, and a reference to this is found in the *Prabodha-Candrodaya.* After the success of Viveka over Mahamoha, it is said that the Saugatas fled into Sindhu, Gandhara, Magadha, Andhra, Huna, Vanga, Kalinga and country of the Mlecchas. The heretics, the Digambaras and the Kapalikas fled to Pancala, Malava, Abhira and to the sea coast.[38] The place names are of little importance, but the passage itself indicates the predominence of Brahminism over other religions at that time.

As a staunch Vaisnavste, Krishna Misra had great hatred and contempt for any other religion, and this is often reflected in various passages of his drama. In one place Santi (Peace), seeing a Digambara Jaina, says to her sister Karuna (Mercy), "He is Digambara Siddhanta, sent by the great king Mahamoha, who by all means ought to be kept at a distance, and we should turn our backs to avoid the sight of him."[39] The hatred for Buddhism is expressed when a Buddhist Bhiksu says, "How excellent is the religion of the Saugatas, which grants both sensual enjoyments and eternal felicity ; it permits us to inhabit elegant houses and to possess women obedient to our wills ; it removes the restriction as to the time of eating; it allows us to recline on soft beds and to pass the shining moonlight nights in amours with young damsels."[40] Besides condemning these two religions, Krishna Misra attempts to show the contempt of the Jainas and Bauddhas for each other. A Ksapanaka asks a Bhiksu, "How do you know that Buddha is omniscient?", to which the Bhiksu replies that it is written in the Holy Book. The Ksapanaka then scornfully says that "If you believe in the omniscience of the Buddha upon his own declaration, then I am also omniscient, for I know that you, your father, grandfather and ancestors to several generations were my servants." The Bhiksu is naturally enraged and he curses the Ksapanaka as a sinner, devil and impure fellow.[41]

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[36] V. pp. 173-174, Trans. p. 62.
[37] MASI, No. 8.
[38] V, pp. 176-177 Trans. p. 63.
[39] III, p. 100, Trans. p. 31.

The picture of the religious life of the state, as painted by Krishna Misra, is not only coloured by his fanatic zeal for Vaisnavism, but is entirely misleading. Far from a relation of mutual hatred and jealousy, one of the most outstanding features of the Candellas was their wonderful spirit of religious toleration. Dr. Beni Prasad says that "as a rule, Hindu monarchs, even burning enthusiasts like Asoka, tolerated all creeds, preached toleration and even went to the extent of patronising sects other than their own".[42] Epigraphic and other evidence shows that the Candellas carried out a similar religious policy. There are many Jaina and Buddhist temples in Khajuraho which were built side by side with the Brahmanical temples. Commenting on the striking similarity in the magnificence, architecture, and designs of the temples of the different religions, Fergusson says, "It looks as if all had been built by one prince, and by some arrangement that neither sect should surpass or be jealous of the other".[43] Even when granting villages to the

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[40] III, pp. 104-105, Trans. p. 34.
[41] III, pp. 108-109, Trans. pp. 36-37.
[42] SAI, pp. 505-506.
[43] HEAIA, p. 49.

Brahmanas, the Candella kings scrupulously safeguarded the interest of the land belonging to temples or shrines of other religions.[44] The Khajuraho Jaina temple inscription records a number of gifts made by one Pahilla, "who was held in honour by Dhanga and was a devotee of the lord of the Jinas". The inscription also mentions one Vasavacandra who is described as the Maharajaguru.[45] Dhanga's respect for Pahilla (apparently a Jaina) and the indicated presence of the Royal priest at the time of a gift made by a Jaina are very significant, and this further points to the privilege and protection enjoyed by the people of other sects in the Candella state.

(iii) Architecture

The history of the Candellas cannot be completed without a few pages on the contribution made by the dynasty to Indian architecture. Many scholars have briefly discussed the magnificence of Candella architecture and its importance, but, as Smith suggested nearly 50 years ago, the remains of the Candella temples at Khajuraho are worthy of a fully illustrated volume.

All the important Candella temples, about thirty in number, are in Khajuraho, the religious capital of the dynasty. The temples are in fairly good condition, and their preservation is mainly due to the geographical position of Khajuraho, which did not come in the way of the Moslem iconoclasts and is still difficult of access. The inscriptions and the architectural style of the temples show that they were constructed during c. A.D. 950 to c. A.D. 1050, i.e. the most flourishing period of the Candella dynasty, the time of Dhanga and Vidyadhara. The political success of these two kings naturally increased the wealth of the kingdom, and this was spent by the kings for the construction of the magnificent temples in their religious capital. Smith believed that the temples were erected by order of the Candella kings,[46] whereas Percy Brown thinks that the kings only extended their patronage to the temples.[47] It is very difficult to ascertain whether kings actually ordered the temples to be erected or were merely keen patrons of their construction ; but the very close relation between the fortunes of the Royal family and the building of the temples is evident from the fact that not a single important Candella temple is known to have been constructed after c. A.D. 1050, i.e. the time from which the Candella kingdom began to decline in power.

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[44] EI, Vol. XX, p. 129.

[45] EI, Vol. I, p. 136.

The most significant feature of the Khajuraho temples is that they are almost equally divided between the three sects, viz. the Saivists, the Vaisnavaists and the Jainas. No Buddhist temple has been found, but the presence of the religion is known from the discovery of four Buddhist images[48] and other antiquities. One of the temples, the Ghantai, was once thought to be a Buddhist shrine, but is now known to be a Jaina temple.[49] The style and architecture of the temples of the three sects are strikingly similar. The similarities are so great that even the peculiarities of other Jaina temples of the period, such as courtyards with circumambient cellae, and the prominent domes, are not found in the Jaina temples of Khajuraho. These temples, according to Fergusson, must have been constructed in an age of extreme toleration, when any rivalry that existed must only have been among the architects, who vied with one another to build the most beautiful and the most magnificent temple.[50] This conclusion is strongly supported by other evidence which has been discussed above,[51] and it also sup-

[46] Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 116.
[47] Ind., Arch, p. 133.
[48] MASI, No. 8.
[49] ASR, Vol. II, p. 431 ; Ibid., 1904-1905, pp. 5-6.
[50] HEAIA, pp. 49-50.
[51] Supra, pp. 161-162.

ports the contention of Smith and Benjamin Rowland that the variety of styles which may be distinguished depends not on sectarian differences, but mainly on date and locality.[52] Some of the temples are so similar to each other that only when the sculptures are examined, can the actual dedication of the temples be ascertained.[53]

The architectural style of the Khajuraho temples differs considerably from that of other Hindu temples. The Khajuraho temples are not within the usual surrounding wall, and are situated on a level platform high above the ground. The temples are not as large as most other famous Hindu temples, especially those in southern India, but are admirable for their elegant and graceful design and well-proportioned construction. They are usually divided into three main compartments, the cella or garbhagriha, the assembly hall or mandapa and the portico or ardha-mandapa. As well as these three, there are the ante-chamber to the cella or antarala, and the transepts or mahamandala with a processional passage around the cella. Percy Brown rightly believes that this wonderful planning of the temples was due to the fact that those who built them had experience in the practical requirements of the structure.[54]

The three main parts of the exterior of the buildings are the high basement storey, above which are the walls and openings of the interior halls, surmounted by the roofs culminating in the impressive sikhara. The whole trend of the upper construction is towards height. Each of the compartments of the temples has a separate roof, the Sikhara being the highest of all ; next in height is the central hall and the portico is the smallest and lowest in size and height. "Unlike the Orissan type, which is pyramidal, the Khajuraho roofs are domical in contour, but their surface texture in horizontal strata is much the same".[55] It is said that the culmination of the Indo-Aryan genius in architecture was attained in the Khajuraho temples.[56] The spires or Sikharas of Indo-Aryan temples are the most outstanding feature of the buildings, and the best examples of these, Percy Brown believes, are to be found in Khajuraho, where the Sikharas with their flowing profiles, are more beautiful than the Orissan type. The beauty of the Khajuraho Sikharas is chiefly in the design and distribution of the Urasringas, i.e. the miniature small towers connected with the main Sikhara.[57] These Sikharas, Havell thinks, symbolise the universal sovereignty of the deity worshipped.[58] Their upward thrust is accentuated by the miniature Sikharas which buttress the central tower, but the crowning (amalaka) of these projections break the upward movement and remind the observer that the divine is to be found on earth as well as in heaven. The effect of the whole is one of organic and natural growth. The temples seem intimately at one with the earth, suggesting a range of mountains, leading up to a high peak, or a series of gigantic symmetrical anthills. They provide striking instances of the feeling of unity with nature, a feature of much Indian art, even at its most florid.[59]

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[52] Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 113 ; The Art and Architecture of India, p. 173.

[53] HEAIA, p. 141.

[54] Ind., Arch, p. 133.

The parallel friezes which conjoin and follow the alternate projections and recesses of the walls of the Khajuraho temples largely add to their beauty and imposing appearance from outside. "Peopled with groups of statutary moulded in high relief and in relief and in dimensions rather less than half life size, these friezes present a moving pageant and never ending procession of life-like forms, shapely in appearance, exquisite in workmanship and of inexhaustible interest".[60]

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[55] Ind. Arch, p. 134.

[56] The Art and Architecture of India, p. 173.

[57] Ind., Arch, p. 134.

[58] A Handbook of Indian Art., p. 68.

[59] I am indebted to Dr. Basham for this idea.

The temples have only one entrance, on the East, the access to which is by a steep flight of steps. The doorways of the buildings are masterpieces of architecture, which, Percy Brown aptly remarks, appear "more like ivory carving, or even a hanging drapery than chiselled stone".[61]

The halls of the temples are superbly decorated with sculptures. The Mandapas are quite small, and the weight of the overhead structure is supportd by four pillars, and four beams in the shape of a square framework under the ceiling. The pillars and the ceiling of the Mandapa are decorated with dwarfs accompanied by gryphons at the angles, and in the spaces between these figures are figures of charming women. The ceilings of all other compartments are richly decorated with various figures, but these are hardly visible in the semi or total darkness.

The largest and most imposing of all the temples of Khajuraho is the Kandariya Mahadeo, which is 109 ft. in length, 60 ft. in breadth and 116½ ft. in height. It has six compartments, viz. the portico, main hall, transepts, vestibule, sanctum and ambulatory. The Sikhara is very elegant and graceful and is built up of miniature repetitions of itself. The recessed ceilings of the temple are beautiful and efficiently varied. The walls are full of sculptures. Cunningham counted 226 statues inside the temple and 646 outside, a total of 872, most of which are from 2½ to 3 ft. in height. A marble lingam of Mahadeva is over the centre of the entrance to the sanctum, and there is a small figure of Siva, with figures of Brahma and Visnu on either side, suggesting the absence of narrow sectarian differences.[62]

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[60] Ind., Arch, p. 134.
[61] Ibid.
[62] ASR, Vol. II, pp. 419-421 ; Ind., Arch, p. 136.

The temple of Caturbhuja (a name of Visnu) is the chief of the Vaisnava group. The temple contains a four-armed figure with three heads; the middle head being human and the other two leonine, i.e. Narasimha or the Man-Lion incarnation of Visnu. There is an inscription in the temple giving the genealogy of the Candella rulers up to Yasovarman and Dhanga with the date A.D. 954,[63] which suggests that the construction of the temple began in the reign of Yasovarman and was completed in the reign of his son Dhanga. The temple is 85 ft. in length and 44 ft. in breadth, and its architectural style is similar to that of the Kandariya Mahadeo temple. This temple and another known as the Visvanatha temple, probably had small supplementary shrines at each corner of their platforms and were examples of the pancayatana or five-shrined type.[64]

The largest and finest of the Jaina temples is the Parsvanatha temple which is 62 ft. in length and about 31 ft. in breadth. The plan and architecture of this are identical with those of the Hindu temples described above, except that it is built to suit the requirements of Jaina ritual.[65]

Of the other important temples of Khajuraho, mention may be made of the Chasonat Jogini (64 Goblins) temple, the Mahadeo temple, the Devi Jagadambi temple and the ruined shrine of Ghantai. This is probably so called from the bells sculptured on its pillars, of which only twelve, over 14 ft. in height, still stand supporting a flat roof. The pillars are very elegant and magnificent in detail and the doorway is rich with its lovely curves.[66]

A few Candella temples survive in Mahoba, the most important of which are the temple at the village of Rahilya, and the Kakra marh or Kakra temple which is 103 ft. in length and 42 ft. in breadth. The name of Kakra is said to refer to Siva and there is evidence that a lingam originally stood in the middle of the sanctum. The decoration and architecture of the temple are much inferior in quality to those of the temples of Khajuraho.[67]

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[63] ASR, Vol. II, p. 426.
[64] Ind. Arch, p. 136.
[65] HEAIA, p. 50 ; Ind., Arch, p. 136.
[66] ASR, Vol. II, p. 431. Ind., Arch, pp. 136-137.

(iv) Sculpture

It has already been noticed that the magnificence and splendour of the Khajuraho temples are largely due to their sculptured adornment. Smith, who visited Khajuraho, said that the number of figures are far greater than appears in photographs, "but this *peuple de rierre* as M. Le Bon calls it, was designed for the purpose of architectural decoration in the mass, not as an assemblage of individual works of fine art".[68] It is not very difficult to explain the development of sculpture to such a high degree of perfection, for, as Dora Gordine says, "In great period of art sculpture and architecture have always been closely allied. Sculpture did not have to struggle for a setting but found its natural and indispensable place in the architecture of the age".[69]

From its central position, Khajuraho absorbed influences from both east, i.e. Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, and west, i.e. Gujrat and Rajasthan, in its sculpture. Stella Kramrisch divides the sculpture of central India into two broad divisions—the Candella school and the Haihaya school. Though these divisions are named after two important dynasties, Dr. Kramrisch points out that the rulers only played the part of patrons and did not in any way interfere with the trend of art.[70] The Candella school stretches from Khajuraho and Mahoba to Bharatpur in the west and up to Allahabad in the east. The Haihaya school covers the region south of Allahabad up to Jubbalpore. Though open to the

[67] ASR, Vol. II, pp. 441-442.
[68] Fine Art in India and Ceylon, pp. 126-127.
[69] JRAS, 1941, p. 43.
[70] Ind., Sc., p. 8.

same influences from east and west, Dr. Kramrisch believes that the two schools are clearly differentiated. "While in the Candella school the fundamental forces of Indian plasticity are still active, and overcome new obstacles by approved methods, the Haihaya craftsmen allow novel problems to sink into old forms."[71]

The figures of the Khajuraho temples are mostly sculptured in recesses or corners where they are hardly visible. Dr. Kramrisch explains the motive behind this as that "they are not so much meant to be seen as known to be there. A preconceived order, and an inexhaustible supply of form and figure are taken for granted by the devotee".[72]

Among the innumerable sculptures of Khajuraho there are many figures of animals, mainly the Sardula (tiger), the vahana of Durga, the Vrisa (bull) the vahana of Siva, the Musika, vahana of Ganesa, Hanuman, the monkey god and Garuda. The numerous animal sculptures suggest a revival of the practices of the art of the Indus valley. It is significant that the Khajuraho animals are without their respective gods, suggesting that divinity was thought to inhere in the animals themselves.

The free-standing sculptures of Khajuraho are also masterpieces, which are not only minute in detail but convey a sense of pulsating life. The best example of this sensitiveness is the Maithuna couple with attendants. The heads of the couple are beautifully moulded and, "the subtly expressive back of the woman is bent like a bow, tense and vibrating with sensitive life, yet it does not lose for a moment the static serene quality of sculpture."[73]

Lively expression and graceful yet strong form are found in another female figure, which as Dora Gordine says, the sculptor "caught in the middle of a movement of exquisite rhythm."[74]

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[71] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[72] Indian Society of Oriental Art, 1933-34, Vols. I and II, p. 97.

[73] JRAS, 1941, p. 44.

The four Buddhist statues found at Mahoba are outstanding pieces of Candella sculpture. These are better than many of the statues of the contemporary Buddhist school of Magadha and certainly better than many of the same period found in Sarnath.[75] The statue of Simhanada Avalokitesvara is singularly beautiful with its superb curve of the body, charming pose, and above all, its lively celestial expression. This statue may well be ranked as one of the best specimens of Indian sculpture.

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[74] Ibid., p. 46.

[75] MASI, No. 8, p. 1.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CANDELLAS

The Candella dynasty arose in the first quarter of the 9th century and survived as a powerful independent royal family until the close of the 13th century. At first owing allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the Candellas became independent when the Pratiharas passed into decline in the second half of the 10th century. About the last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century, Candella rulers were able to establish their supremacy over large parts of central India. The boundaries of the Candella kingdom usually extended from the Betwa river on the west to the Vindhya mountains on the east, and from the Jumna on the north to the Narbada river on the south.

The Candellas owe their importance to three basic factors —geographical, political and social and cultural.

(i) Geographical

In assessing the importance of the Candellas in relation to the history of India in general and to the history of Madhyadesa in particular, we must first consider the geographical importance of the region over which they ruled. Central India is practically a 'medley of interlaced territories', traversed by a large number of rivers and mountains. The Sind, the Betwa, the Dhasan, the Son and the Ken are the main rivers in the eastern tract of central India. Bundelkhand (modern Vindhya Pradesh) is traversed by the Panna range from south-west to north-east, and the Vindhyas make the region almost unassailable from the south.[1]

This geographical configuration largely influenced the history of the Candellas. The kingdom stood very close to that fertile region of north-western India which lay to the north of the Jumna and the Ganges; while the country itself, divided by numerous ranges of hills, the spurs of the Vindhya mountains, made it almost impregnable. The position of the Candellas was further strengthened by the possession of the important and almost inaccessible forts of Ajaygadh, Mahoba and Kalanjara. The importance of these three forts to the Candella kingdom is clearly evident from the history of the dynasty, and mention has already been made of the physical features of these places.[2] Especially important was Kalanjara, which is "about 800 ft. above the plain. The lower part of the ascent is tolerably easy, but the middle portion is very steep, while the upper part is nearly perpendicular and quite inaccessible."[3] Unfortunately, for all its inaccessibility, the fort of Kalanjara had a serious drawback. The water supply of the fort was uncertain,[4] and the failure of water supply compelled the Candellas to surrender to the Moslems in A.D. 1202.[5]

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[1] Census of India, 1931, Vol. XX ; Central India Agency, Pt. I, Report, pp. 2-3.

In spite of all its advantages, the geographical position of the Candella country had, however, a great disadvantage. It was very difficult for the ruler of such a region to build up a durable empire, owing to problems of communication and administration of such a hilly region, and the security of the kingdom depended almost entirely on the forts of Kalanjara and Ajaygadh. Once these were taken the whole region lay open to an invader. Moreover, the hilly tribes of the region often caused trouble in the kingdom, and the reference to the subjugation of the Sabaras, Pulindas and Bhillas in a Candella inscription[6] indicates a lack of strong local administration in outlying districts. The resounding success of the Kalacuris in the east during the reigns of Gangeyadeva and Laksmikarna and the success of Prithviraja Cahamana in the west can partially be attributed to the failure of the Candellas to build up a strong defence on their frontiers. A durable and strong all-round empire in India could only be acquired by a power which held the more fertile and level region of the Gangetic doab.

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[2] Supra, pp. 12-13.

[3] ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 21.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Supra, pp. 97-98.

[6] EI, Vol. I, p. 334, vs. 22.

(ii) Political

The internal history of the Pratihara family in the first half of the 10th century (c. 908—c. 960) seems to have been a story of continued family dissension coupled with foreign invasion. This made the authority of central government extremely weak. The consequence was that the different provinces which had so long acknowledged allegiance to the central authority found an opportunity of making themselves independent. The contemporary Candella king Harsa played an important part in the political affairs of that time. By re-establishing the Pratihara king on the throne of Kanauj, Harsa raised the Candella family to a prominence which was further enhanced by his son and successor Yasovarman. Yasovarman inflicted a very severe blow on the rapidly declining power of the Pratiharas by capturing the important forts of Citrakuta and Kalanjara.

By this time Indian history had entered a new phase. Owing to internal disorder, the Rastrakutas and the Palas could not play any further important part in northern India. The Pratihara empire was crumbling. Fortune favoured the feudatories with golden opportunities, and the Candella rulers Harsa and Yasovarman made best use of them. After the conquest of Kalanjara and Citrakuta, although the Pratihara emperor continued to enjoy the imperial title, it was Yasovarman who was the de facto ruler of the empire. "The period of transition and political readjustment which had always intervened between the fall of one imperial power and the rise of another in India had already begun."[7]

The Gurjara-Pratiharas left a legacy of imperial ideas, and their empire may be regarded as the first great political entity created out of the large number of foreign settlers in India who appear after the break-up of the Gupta empire. It was in fact the first Rajput empire, the forerunner of the later Rajput kingdoms of the Candellas, Cahamanas, Caulukyas, Kalacuris, Paramaras, Gahadavalas and other minor families, who appeared on the scene and fought among themselves for the hegemony of north-west and central India that was lost with the decline of the Pratiharas.

The decline of the Pratiharas coincided with a revival of the Palas of Bengal under Gopala II, (c. 921-978) who again tried to enter the political stage of northern India. This brought them in conflict with the Candella rulers Yasovarman and Dhanga, whose inscriptions claim victories over the former. The attempt of the Palas, however, failed and the fight for supremacy was confined to the Rajput dynasties.

Among the princes of the various dynasties that were 'struggling to capture the sceptre of the effete Pratihara Princes',[8] the most outstanding was the Candella ruler Dhanga. There is no doubt that Dhanga inherited a position which had been strongly founded by his father Yasovarman. The empire was further strengthened by Dhanga with the annexation of the fort of Gwalior and extension of the dominion in all directions. But before the Candellas could firmly establish themselves as the supreme power in north-west Indiia they had to contend with the Moslems.

It has been pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the Pratihara empire owed its birth to a struggle against aggressive Islam which sought to penetrate into western India through Sind. During the two centuries of their rule the Pratiharas never forgot their mission, and successfully resisted the Moslem attacks at a time when they seemed irresistible.[9] After the decline of the Pratiharas this heavy burden fell on the shoulders of the Sahis of Afghanistan and Punjab, and with the fall of the Sahis the Candellas had to face the invasion of redoubtable Sultan Mahmud. Dhanga, however, did not come into direct conflict with the Moslems, as the latter were too deeply engaged in war with the Sahis to attack him.

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[7] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1212.
[8] Ibid.

Dhanga's successor Ganda had a very short reign. He was succeeded by Vidyadhara, who was undoubtedly the most powerful prince of his time. Vidyadhara realised that a fight with the Moslems was inevitable for attaining imperial power. The slaying of Rajyapala of Kanauj was only a stepping-stone to his ultimate object, which could not be achieved without including the Gangetic doab in his kingdom. Sultan Mahmud understood Vidyadhara's intention, and wasted no time in attacking the Candella kingdom. Vidyadhara was probably not unprepared. The vast army he collected for the battle suggests that he was fully alive to the consequences of his attack on Rajyapala. Mahmud's first invasion was not fully crowned with success. He had to undertake a second expedition after two years. No doubt Mahmud succeeded in his attempts, but his campaign against Vidyadhara was not as spectacular as his other successes. Nevertheless, Vidyadhara's ambition received a severe setback. The failure of Vidyadhara was very unfortunate, for, as Dr. Ray says, the Candellas might have succeeded in combining a considerable portion of northern India under their rule, "and thus created some unity in the confused currents of its history during this period.

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[9] JOL, Vol. X, pp. 71-72.

Unfortunately for them, they were confronted by one of the greatest military leaders that the Turks have over produced."[10]

The significance of this period of Candella history, from the reign of Dhanga to that of Vidyadhara (c.950—c.1025), lies in the fact that the mantle of imperialism which had dropped out of the hands of the Pratiharas, seems to have fallen on those of the Candellas. But this position the Candellas were not destined to enjoy for long. Vidyadhara's successors were weak and unworthy of the situation, and, almost with Vidyadhara's death, the supremacy in northern India passed out of the Candella hands.

During the reigns of Vijayapala and Devavarman the Candellas not only lost the initiative in the struggle for supremacy, but also virtually lost their independence to the Kalacuris, who were then the dominant power in north-west India. The accession of Kirtivarman to the Candella throne was marked by a revival of the Candella power and the decline of the Kalacuris. The failure of Laksmikarna Kalacuri to build up a strong empire in northern India was due to the alliance of other Rajput dynasties against him, and Kirtivarman Candella played a prominent part in bringing about the downfall of Lakshmikarna. But Kirtivarman could not establish the Candellas as the supreme power in northern India though he provided an opportunity for his successors to do so. The weak reigns of Sallaksanavarman, Jayavarman and Prithvivarman, however, saw this opportunity lost and the Gahadavalas, under the strong rule of Govindacandra (c.1114—1155) emerged as the stongest power.

The reign of Madanavarman once again revived Candella hopes of gaining supremacy over other dynasties and establishing an empire in northern India. Inscriptions of Madanavarman show that he spared no energy to extend the Candella kingdom in all directions. The consequence of such an expansion was obvious,—Madanavarman came in conflict with the Gahadavalas and the Caulukyas. The conflict with the Gahadavalas was only the continuation of a struggle that started soon after the death of Kirtivarman. This tragic quarrel between the Candellas, Gahadavalas and the Caulukyas was very unfortunate for the future course of Indian history. The Moslem invaders had been having a very lean time since the death of Sultan Mahmud. A united effort of Govindacandra Gahadavala, Jayasimha-Siddharaja and Madanavarman Candella, aided by the other Hindu dynasties, might easily have ousted the Moslems from India once and for all. But that was not to be, and dynastic struggles took the place of any united action by the Hindu dynasties. The result was that none of the dynasties could achieve its ambition, and in course of half a century, one by one, they fell easy prey to the Moslem invaders. By the beginning of the 13th century the Cahamanas, the Gahadavalas and the Caulukyas had succumbed to the Moslem invaders. The turn of the Candellas came in A.D. 1202, when the fort of Kalanjara fell to Qutbuddin and Paramardi died. Paramardi's successor Trailokyavarman, however, succeeded in winning back the fort of Kalanjara from the Moslems within three years and continued to rule as an independent king. By A.D. 1212, large parts of the Kalacuri territories were annexed by Trailokyavarman. In A.D. 1233 Trailokyavarman probably resisted another Moslem attack on his kingdom. But these successes were hardly of any real importance. With the failure of Prithviraja Cahamana in the battle of Tarain in A.D. 1192, the fate of all the Hindu dynasties was virtually decided and the hope of a strong united empire in northern India was lost for a long time to come. Like some other Rajput dynasties in different parts of northern India, the Candellas continued to rule in Bundelkhand until the 14th century, but their great days were over.

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[10] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1214.

From this summary of their history it is clear that the part played by the Candellas in the politics of northern India was by no means a small one.

(iii) Social and Cultural

A study of the history of all the Rajput dynasties dispels many misconceptions about the Indian social structure which prevail in the minds of orthodox Indians even at the present time. Researches on the origin of the Rajput dynasties have produced results of great importance. Thus it has been found that in spite of the Rajputs' claim to Aryan descent, they are really of diverse origin. The Candellas, for instance, claim to be Ksatriyas of the lunar race, and there are people who are inclined to accept this claim. But, as we have seen in our chapter on their origin, the Candellas, like some other Rajput tribes, are to be traced to the aboriginal or non-Aryan elements in the Indian nation. Similarly, other Rajput families have their origin in later immigrants into India, such as the Sakas, Yavanas, Hunas, Gurjaras, etc., and some may have originated from the Ksatriya community of earlier times. The assimilation of aboriginal tribes like the Gonds and Bhars in Indian society is almost conclusively proved by the researches on the origin of the Candellas.

In the cultural field, especially in architecture and sculpture, the contribution of the Candellas is very important. The 10th century, which saw the tripartite struggle between the Pratiharas, the Rastrakutas and the Palas, the decline and downfall of the Pratihara empire and the rise of the other Rajput dynasties after a period of trouble and turmoil, was hardly the time for achievements in the sphere of art and architecture. But towards the close of this century some kind of order came to be established with the emergence of the new states. All the Rajput kings were patrons of art and architecture. Almost all of the early mediaeval works of architecture in north-west and central India, now mostly in ruins, were built by various Rajput kings. But of all the Rajput dynasties of this period the Candellas made the greatest contribution to early mediaeval architecture. There was at least a partial revival of culture in Madhyadesa under the Candellas. Their contribution to Hindu architecture can best be summed up in the words of Cunningham, "Of the famous dynasty of Chandel Rajputs, the remains are more numerous and more interesting than those of any other ancient family. The remains of the powerful Gupta dynasty are more important, but they are at present confined almost entirely to coins and inscriptions, while those of the Chandels include some of the most magnificent and costly temples in Northern India."[11]

CONCLUSION:

In conclusion a few words may be said on the trend of events in north-western and central India during the transitional period between c.916 and c.1200. If we take a superficial view it is very difficult to understand the real force of the ideas which were directing the political activities of the Rajput dynasties, and we incline to agree with Smith that this was a period when 'India reverted to her normal condition of anarchical autonomy."[12] If, however, we study the history of the period from a different point of view, we can understand the significance of the dynastic struggles. The object of these struggles was the establishment of another imperial power. In other words, an age of struggle for hegemony followed the fall of the imperial Pratiharas. For a while one of the dynasties achieved its ambition, but only to lose it again to a coalition among the other dynasties whose independence was threatened. Unfortunately, these coalitions broke down as soon as the common enemy was defeated. For more than two centuries this struggle continued until the Moslem, largely helped by the situation which we have described, established their authority in northern India. Thus the legacy of the empire left by the Pratiharas continued even after their decline. It is in this idea of Empire that we are to find the significance of the inter-state struggles of the 11th and 12th centuries. It is strange that the Rajput dynasties, who could combine so well against another strong dynasty, did not or could not combine their forces against the Moslems. The alliances that were made against the Moslem invaders were of a very loose nature without any real unity or whole-hearted concerted action. The collapse of the Rajput dynasties marks the end of Hindu rule and the beginning of Moslem supremacy in India. Thus the history of the Rajput dynasties of this period is of great importance, for it links the period of the Pratiharas with that of the next great north Indian empire—the Sultanate of Delhi.

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[11] ASR, Vol. II, p. 415.
[12] EHI, p. 371.

APPENDIX

No. I.

COINAGE OF THE DYNASTY

The Candellas ruled as an independent dynasty for about four hundred years (c. 950-1308), but not many of their coins have been found. It is surprising that no coins of such powerful kings as Dhanga and Vidyadhara are known. The coinage of the dynasty starts with the reign of Kirtivarman (c.1060-c.1100) and continues up to the reign of Viravarman (c.1250-1286).

In our chapter on the political history of the Candellas we have seen how, after Vidyadhara's death, they were defeated by Kalacuri ruler Gangeyadeva (c. 1015-1040), and afterwards virtually became feudatories of Gangeya's son and successor Laksmikarna (1040-1072), until their fortune was revived by Kirtivarman.[1] The coins of the Candellas, which are almost exact copies of the coins of Gangeyadeva, are important evidence of the success of the Kalacuris.

Gangeyadeva ruled from C. 1015 to 1040, and was a contemporary of the Candella Vidyadhara and Vijayapala. Gold, silver and copper coins of Gangeyadeva have been found. On the obverse of his coin is inserted the name of the king in Nagari characters, in three lines on the larger coins and two on the smaller. On the reverse is the figure of a four-armed goddess seated cross-legged, holding up a flower in her upraised right hand and with a nimbus round her head.[2] Cunningham called the goddess Parvati,[3] but it has been rightly suggested that the figure is of Laksmi, the goddess of fortune.[4] Gangeya's coins are found in all the denominations, viz: one dramma, half dramma and quarter dramma. No coins of Gangeya's successors have been found, and as Cunningham pointed out, "This abstinence on the part of his successors is the more remarkable, as the suite of coins described above seems to form a perfect monetary system in all three metals."[5] The answer probably lies in the fact that Gangeyadeva minted a large number of coins and this was further increased by the foreign coins accumulated by Laksmikarna from the countries he conquered. These were perhaps enough for their successors who did not issue new coins.[6]

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[1] Supra, pp. 68-79.
[2] SMI, p. 72.
[3] Ibid.

The gold and silver coins of the Candellas are exact copies of the coins of Gangeya, the name of the king only being different, and Smith rightly suggested that Kirtivarman Candella adopted and introduced the coinage of Gangeyadeva after defeating Laksmikarna Kalacuri.[7] In the Candella copper coins on the other hand the figure of the goddess has been replaced by a figure of Hanuman under a canopy. According to Smith this Hanuman type was probably suggested by the boar-headed figure on the Srimad Adivaraha drammas of the Pratihara ruler Bhojadeva I, to which it bears a great resemblance.[8] Prof. V. V. Mirashi believes that the Hanuman type was evolved in the Candella kingdom, where the earliest reference to the worship of the monkey-god is found in a stone inscription. This type of coin was copied with a slight variation by Jajjaladeva I of

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[4] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 147; JNSI, 1941, Vol. III, p. 25.

[5] CMI, p. 72.

[6] Eight gold coins of Gangeyadeva have been found in the village of Isurpur, Tahsil Rehli of the Saugor District. These 8 coins differ in fabric from the usual coins of Gangeyadeva. These 8 coins are thick and are half an inch in diameter. It has therefore been suggested that they were struck by Karna, the son and successor of Gangeya.—JNSI, Vol. III, 1941, p. 26.

[7] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 147.

[8] Ibid.

Ratnapura, after he formed an alliance with Sallaksanavarman Candella. On Jajjala's coins the god is two-armed as on Candella coins and appears to be trampling on a demon. On the coins of Jajjala's successor the god is four-armed.[9]

As the Candellas were once feudatories of the Pratiharas, it is not unlikely that the Adivaraha type influenced the Hanuman type of Candella coins, but the discovery of one large image of Hanuman in Khajuraho seems to support the view that the Hanuman type was evolved in the Candella kingdom.

We have, however, noticed in the British Museum one copper dramma of Madanavarman and two other copper drammas in which the name of the king is obscure, and which have the figure of the four-armed goddess on one side and the name of the king on the other.[10] The figure of the goddess on the copper dramma of Madanavarman is very crude, but that on one of the illegible coins[11] is very clear. It thus seems that the Lakshmi type of Gangeyadeva was adopted by Madanavarman and later Candella kings on their copper coins as well as the new type of Hanuman. It is, however, possible that these coins, though made of copper, were plated with silver and were used as silver coins. But in course of time the silver plating of the coins wore off and they now appear as copper coins.

The larger gold coins, i.e. the drammas, usually weigh between 60 to 63 grains, the half drammas about 30 grains, and the quarter drammas 15 grains. The weights of the silver and copper coins are similar. Cunningham and Smith believed that the larger gold coins had their descent from the Greek drachma and were struck to that standard.[12] Cunningham's and Smith's terminology for the Candella coins as dramma, half-dramma and quarter dramma is very reasonable if we compare the weights of these coins with those of the Greeks. Unfortunately, Candella inscriptions do not mention any particular coin, but refer to money or wealth as "dhana".

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[9] JNSI, Vol. III, 1941, p. 35, fn. 62..
[10] British Museum, Ex. Cunningham, 1914.
[11] One of the names appears to be Viravarmmadeva.
[12] ASR, Vol. X, p. 27 ; CCIM, Vol. I, pp. 251.

Smith was not very certain whether any of the dynasties really struck a silver coinage, for much of the gold coinage is so largely alloyed with silver that it is difficult to decide whether it was actually intended to be coin of silver, and he suggested the possibility that "coins which seem at first sight to be silver were regarded officially as gold."[13] The existence of Candella silver coin was for long known only from one silver coin of Jayavarman mentioned by Cunningham.[14] But all doubts regarding its existence were removed by the discovery of 48 silver coins of Madanavarman, (of which 8 were drammas and 40 quarter drammas) in September, 1913.[15]

We may offer a tentative solution to the question why no coins of any Candella king before Kirtivarman have been found. The Pratiharas had struck a large number of coins which, with the beginning of their decline, gradually began to come into the possession of their powerful feudatories. Naturally, a large number of Pratihara coins were in circulation in the Candella kingdom during the reigns of Dhanga and Vidyadhara. Moreover, as Smith pointed out, "they probably utilised chiefly the various sorts of Indo-Sassanian drammas in base silver, such as are mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription."[16] So Dhanga and Vidyadhara did not need to issue their own coins. Vidyadhara spent an enormous amount of money for his struggle with Sultan Mahmud, and this must have had an effect on the economic condition of the country. It was during the reign of Vidyadhara's successor Vijayapala (c. 1030-1050) and the latter's successor Devavarman (c. 1050—c. 1060) that the Candellas were decisively beaten by the Kalacuris and virtually lost their independence, until it was won back by Kirtivarman (c. 1060—c. 1100). Kirtivarman probably found it necessary to issue new coins for two reasons. Firstly, the old Indo-Sassanian and Pratihara coins were not enough for the country after a long period of political turmoil and economic degradation. Secondly, Kirtivarman issued new coins in his own name to proclaim himself as the independent Candella king, and the proud victor of the mighty Laksmikarna. This trend of political developments, we believe, explains the absence of any Candella coin before the reign of Kirtivarman.

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[13] CCIM, Vol. I, pp. 251-252.

[14] CMI, pp. 77-78.

[15] JASB, New Series, Vol. X, 1914, pp. 199-200.

[16] IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 147.

No. II.

The identification of the Candella Trailokyavarmadeva (1202—c. 1250) with the Trailokyavarmadeva of the Rewa grant dated in V. S. 1297 (A.D. 1240) and Trailokyamalla of the Rewa inscriptions of (K.C.) Samvat 963 (A.D. 1212) and V.S. 1298 (A.D. 1241):[17]

In Chapter V, we have provisionally accepted the identification of Trailokyavarmadeva Candella, with the Trailokyavarmadeva and Trailokyamalla of the three Rewa inscriptions, dated A.D. 1240, 1239 and 1212. But this identification is not free from difficulties, and we propose to point out the main objections, which need satisfactory explanations, before this identification can be put beyond suspicion.

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[17] ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-148; IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 224, 230-234; EI, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-6.

Firstly, no other Candella ruler was ever endowed with the royal epithets of these inscriptions, viz., *Pb. M.....P. Paramamahesvara Trikalingadhipati nijabhujo—parjita Asva-pati—gajapati—narapati—rajatrayadhipati and "Kanyakubja-dhipti"* and *"trisati—rajyadhipati."* While accepting the suggestion that the titles of the Kalacuri kings have simply been transferred to the new ruler, it must be pointed out that, in this period, kings of one dynasty often conquered territories of another dynasty, but are never known to have assumed the full imperial titles of the country conquered.

Secondly, we have no Candella inscription or tradition, or any Moslem account that refers to this success of Trailokyavarman Candella. The Ajaygadh Stone inscription of Viravarman praises Trailokyavarman for saving the country from the Moslems, but it does not record his success over the Kalacuris. Hiralal's suggestion that the Candellas did not think it worth while to keep a record of their victory, is not wholly satisfactory. The panegyrists were very eager to praise any achievement of their king and his ancestors. Even a mere raid has often been recorded as a triumphant victory. So the virtual annexation of the whole kingdom of the Kalacuris would hardly be omitted as unworthy of mention.

Thirdly, it is strange to find the Rewa inscription of A.D. 1212 state that the feet of a Saiva ascetic were "devotedly worshipped by the illustrious Trailokyamalla."[18] Trailokyavarman could not have conquered the Kalacuri kingdom before A.D. 1211.[19] It is not altogether surprising for a victorious king to be mentioned as "worshipping the feet" of an ascetic of the conquered country, less than a year after his conquest; but it is very strange that the ascetic in question should have to mortgage his property for

[18] EI, Vol. XXV, p. 5.

[19] Supra, pp. 102-103.

financial reasons so soon after receiving the homage of the conqueror. Dr. Chakravarty himself has pointed out that the Saiva ascetic Vimala Siva of this inscription, belonged to the ascetic line of the Mattamayura, who were held in great reverence by the Kalacuri rulers of Tripuri.[20] It therefore seems that the Kalacuris were so impoverished that they could no longer patronise the ascetic, unless indeed they had by now vanished altogether.

Fourthly, if Trailokyavarman was fond of high epithets or his new subjects wanted to eulogise him, why do they only call him "Kanyakubjadhipati," without mentioning "Kalanjaradhipati," an epithet which Trailokyavarman actually deserved?

Finally, it is significant that no inscription of Trailokyavarman's successors has been found in the Kalacuri kingdom, nor do they make any claim to rule over it. In the absence of any definite evidence, the possibility that Trailokyamalla or Trailokyavarmadeva was a successor of Kalacuri Vijayasimha, or that he was a usurper from the south, who took possession of these territories and ruled for some time, cannot be ruled out. But in the light of our present knowledge, the arguments in favour of the identification of Trailokyavarmadeva Candella with the Trailokyamalla and deva of the three Rewa inscriptions, are stronger than the other possibility mentioned above, especially because no other king with that name is known to have ruled at that time.

No. III.

TRADITIONAL ACCOUNT OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PRITHVIRAJA AND PARAMARDI

The story of the conflict between Prithviraja Cahamana and Paramardi Candella, is well known from the two traditional works, Chand Bardai's Prithviraj-Raso, and the Lay of Alha.[21] In Chapter V we have already discussed the causes and consequences of this Candella-Cahamana conflict, with the help of tradition and epigraphic evidence.

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[20] EI, Vol. XXV, p. 4.

The main story of Prithviraj-Raso is well known to students of Indian history, and many scholars have commented on the historical value of this work. The Lay of Alha, though less well known, is also very interesting, and has been translated in English ballad metre by the late W. Waterfield, and published with an introduction by Sir George Grierson, on the historical background and the importance of this work. It is unnecessary to repeat the opinions of scholars on the date and importance of these traditional works, and it is not intended to make exhaustive comments on these points. In the following pages we would confine ourselves to the Mahoba episode (i.e. the struggle between the Candellas and the Cahamanas) with an eye to gleaning historical facts as far as possible.

The account of the conflict between the two dynasties, as given in the Raso, is as follows.[22]

The Cauhan ruler of Delhi, Prithviraj, had abducted the daughter of the prince of Sameta. Some of the wounded soldiers who had helped the retreat of the Cauhan ruler, took refuge in a garden of Parmal, but were assailed and put to death by the Chandel king. To avenge the death of his soldiers, Prithviraj invaded the territory of the Chandels, whose soldiers were cut to pieces at Sirswa, the advanced post of Paramal's kingdom. The Chandels called a council, and by the advice of Parmal's wife (the Chandel queen) Malandevi, demanded a truce of the Cauhans, on the plea of the absence of the Mahoba heroes Alha and Udal.

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[21] Said to be written by Jagnaik, sister's son of Parmal—LOA, Intd., p. 10.

[22] Henceforward we shall mention Paramardi as Parmal, Candella as Chandel, Cahamanas as Cauhans, in accordance with the traditional names.

Prithviraj accepted the proposal and a temporary truce was made.

Chand then narrates the story of Alha and Udal, the two great Banaphar heroes, and the cause of their banishment from Mahoba. According to Chand, Jasraj, the Banaphar, once saved the sovereign of Mahoba from the wild race of Gonds and captured Garha, their capital. In gratitude Parmal bestowed many presents on Jasraj, and the queen Malandevi made no distinction between Alha and Udal, the two sons of Jasraj, and her own son. Now the fief of Alha and Udal was the fortress of Kalanjar, where their sovereign Parmal, happening to see a fine mare belonging to Alha, desired to possess her, and being refused, compelled the two brothers to leave the Chandel country. On their retreat the two brothers burnt the estates of the Parihar chief, who had instigated their banishment. With their mother and families they went to Kanauj, where Jaichand, the Gahadavala king, received them cordially and assigned lands for their maintenance.

Chand's account now refers back to the actual conflict between the Chauhans and the Chandels. Jagnakh, the Chandel bard, reached Kanauj and stating all facts to Alha and Udal and their mother Dewaldi, begged them to return at the behest of the Chandel queen. At first Alha and Udal, remembering the injustice done to them, refused to go back to Mahoba and fight for Parmal. Alha said that for the Chandels he had beaten the Moslems ten times, subdued Dhara, Antarvedi, Malava and half of the Punjab, but in return for all these triumphs they were banished by their sovereign. Their mother Dewaldi, however, rebuked her sons and persuaded them to go back to Mahoba. They all went back after a warm send-off from Jaichand, who also gave them 50,000 soldiers and many valuable presents.

On their return home Alha and Udal were heartily welcomed by the Chandel king and the queen and the people.

The great battle between the two dynasties now began. Parmal had an army of 100,000, and in his army was his son Brahmananda and a Pathan named Talhan Khan with 20,000 cavalry. At first Parmal became nervous and thought of buying peace. But Alha and Udal strongly urged for war and the final decision went in their favour. The frightened Parmal took shelter in the fort of Kalanjar with 20,000 soldiers. The Chandel army under the command of Alha and Udal put up a gallant resistance, during which Udal was killed in a heroic fight. Brahmajit (nanda) the prince was killed by Prithviraj, and Alha retired to the forest with his Guru Gorokhnath. Kalanjar was besieged and looted by the Cauhans. Parmal was captured and taken to Delhi. Prithviraj appointed Pajjunrai as the Thanapati of Mahoba.[23]

The story of the Lay of Alha is similar to that given in the Prithviraj Raso in its earlier part, but it differs in the later part. According to this tradition, Mahil, a Parihar chief, who was the brother of Parmal's queen Malhna, (Malandevi in the Raso) was an arch enemy of the Chandels and continually conspired with Prithviraj and other enemies of the line to overthrow them. In the Prithviraj Raso also Mahil is described as a conspirator against the Chandels, but it does not mention so many incidents of his conspiracy as does the Lay of Alha. The Lay of Alha states that Parmal's son Brahma (Brahmananda) and (Brahmajit in the Raso) married Bela, the daughter of Prithviraj, against the latter's wishes.[24] But once the marriage was solemnised, Prithviraj and Parmal were on friendly terms and the former even helped the Chandels against one of their enemies.[25]

[23] Raso, Canto LXIX (pp. 457-473) ; Tod, Vol. II, pp. 715-23.

[24] Canto VI, pp. 196-99.

[25] Canto VIII, pp. 203-11.

These facts are not mentioned in the Raso.

The real cause of the conflict between the Cauhans and the Chandels, as indicated by the Lay, was Prithviraja's desire to capture Sirsa, a strategic point between Mahoba and Delhi, where a number of roads met. In this respect the Lay of Alha agrees with the Prithviraj Raso. Parmal was a vassal of Jaicand and was helped by the latter with a large army ; even Lakhan, the nephew and heir of Jaychand, joined Alha and Udal to fight against Prithviraj.[26] The first attack of the Cauhans was repulsed by Alha, Udal and other Mahoba heroes, and Prithviraj had to retreat after suffering great casualties.

The accounts of the Raso and the Lay of Alha mainly agree up to this stage. The Raso states that Alha and Udal succeeded in checking Prithviraj's attack at first, but afterwards Prithviraj defeated the Chandels. Thus, according to this account, there were two phases of the same invasion. But according to the Lay of Alha there was a second struggle between the two dynasties for an entirely different reason. Parmal wanted to bring back Bela, his daughter-in-law, (the daughter of Prithviraj) to Mahoba, but this was refused by Prithviraj. So Brahma (the son of Parmal) went to bring back Bela from Delhi by force, and was killed in his attempt through the conspiracy of one of the sons of Prithviraj. Hearing this news Mahoba was stricken with grief and Bela decided to burn herself on the pyre of her husband and become a Sati. When the pyre was ready, Bela asked for sandal wood, which Udal brought from the sandal grove of Prithviraj after a great struggle. But the wood was damp, so Bela asked Udal to bring the sandal wood pillars of Prithviraj's throne from Delhi. Udal succeeded in his task after much blood-shed and the pyre was about to be lit by Alha when Prithviraj arrived with a large army. He said that he could not allow Alha, a Banaphar of low origin, to light the pyre of his daughter, and this started the furious battle between the two armies. While the battle was on, the pyre was lit accidentally and Bela and her husband were consumed in the fire. In the battle thousand were killed including Udal and the son of Prithviraj, who conspired to kill Brahma, and many other heroes. At last Mahoba fell, and when Parmal heard the news, he refused to eat and after fasting for thirteen days gave up his life. Since then no kings have reigned in Mahoba.[27]

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[26] Canto XV, p. 251.

The accounts of Prithviraj Raso and the Lay of Alha are almost useless for historical studies. The stories are so fantastic and unhistorical, that it is futile to treat them on a par with the actual story known from the evidence of inscriptions and Moslem accounts. Yet we think that they vaguely refer to historical facts and certain assumptions can be made with the help of inscriptions and other literary evidence.

Firstly, both these works mention Mahil a Parihar chief, who continually conspired against the Candellas and tried to bring about the downfall of the dynasty. The stories are no doubt exaggerated, and in most cases without foundation. But we know that the Candellas had overthrown the Parihars in the 9th century A.D.[28] when they became rulers of Mahoba and other places. It is not impossible that the Parihars had not forgotten this and tried to take revenge.

Secondly, one of the motives behind Prithviraja's conflict with the Candellas may have been his desire to capture the forts of Sirsa and Mahoba. Though the Lay of Alha presents Paramardi as a vassal of Jayaccandra, yet it states that the latter at first refused to allow Alha and Udal to go to the help of Paramardi when Mahoba was attacked. Udal asked Alha to come with him to Mahoba, but Alha excused himself on the pretext that Jayaccandra would not give him leave. At Udal's challenge he went to Kanauj and asked permission to go to save Mahoba. Jayaccandra at first angrily refused and even put Alha in confinement. Jayaccandra, however, was persuaded to change his mind and he allowed the two brothers to go to save Mahoba and himself gave them a large army.[29] This incident supports our assumption that the Gahadavalas and the Candellas were not on very friendly terms,[30] otherwise why should Jayaccandra refuse to help Paramardi, his vassal, in his fight against Prithviraja, the most dangerous enemy of the Gahadavalas ? The actual incident narrated probably never happened but it shows that the later bards, who composed the Lay of Alha, were themselves confused about the relations between the Gahadavalas and the Candellas.

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[27] Canto XVIII to XXIII, pp. 259-273.
[28] Supra, p. 15.

Finally, these two traditions help us to form an idea of the character and personality of the Candella king, Paramardi. Throughout the whole Mahoba episode, both these works present him as an inefficient, cowardly king, who could easily be persuaded by evil counsellors. The Raso states that he banished Alha and Udal, the two great patriots, at the instigation of Mahil, the conspirator. The Lay of Alha also refers to Parmal being persuaded by Mahil. Paramardi is also said to be utterly irresolute, unable to decide anything by himself. It was left for the Queen Malandevi to organize the defence and carry out negotiations. Even when Alha and Udal arrived with a large army, Paramardi was too nervous to fight with Prithviraja and took shelter in the fort of Kalanjara. The Lay of Alha gives an interesting story of Parmal's cowardliness. Parmal was sent for to perform the Samdhora rites in the marriage ceremony of Bela and Brahma. When he came. Prithviraja told him that it was the custom of his family that Paramardi (as the father of the bridegroom) must first fix a betel leaf on Prithviraja's chest. When Parmal saw Prithviraja with his chest a good yard wide, and his eyes flaming like torches, he was so frightened that he got into his palanquin and fled back to his camp. Then "as the elder is the same as father," Alha was sent for and he performed the rite.[31] In another place Alha says that "Paramardi is a cowardly traitor, who stirred no hand to save Malkhan, although so near."[32]

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[29] Canto XV, p. 251.
[30] Supra, pp. 96—97.

The stories are no doubt imaginative and Alha and Udal have been painted as great heroes at the expense of Paramardi and others. But we think that there is at least some truth behind all these stories and that Paramardi probably proved himself cowardly and inefficient at a time of grave difficulty and danger. The Moslem chronicles also state that Paramardi offered submission to the Moslems in A.D. 1202, when Kalanjara was besieged by Qutbuddin. But his minister disliked the offer of submission, and after Paramardi's death the Hindus continued the resistance gallantly and were killed in the process.[33] There is no inscription recording any achievement of Paramardi, but it is known from inscriptions that he was decisively beaten by Prithviraja. The traditional account corroborated by Moslem chronicles, and the silence of the inscriptions indicate that Paramardi was weak and inefficient, and his martial spirit was not up to the standard set by Rajput traditions.

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[31] Canto VI, p. 198. The Samdhora is the formal mutual recognition of the relationship between the two father-in-laws. Between the two there is generally a mutual exchange of presents, and of clothes and garlands.—Ibid, fn. 1.

[32] Canto XV, p. 251.

[33] Supra, pp. 97—98.

In conclusion, a few words may be added on an important question which often haunts the mind of the students of Indian history. There are scholars who believe that Prithviraja was helped by the kings of other dynasties in the battle of Tarain in A.D. 1192. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar states that "He (Prithviraja) solicited the kings of North India to join his confederacy, and they all did except, of course, Jayaccandra."[34] No epigraphic record or traditional account supports this view. From the Prithviraj-Raso and the Lay of Alha, we know that Prithviraja was in hostile relations with most of the dynasties of the time. He was in conflict with Paramardi and there can be no doubt that the Candellas did not come to his aid. Prithviraja's relations with the other contemporary rulers were no better. Chand gives an account of his conflict with the Caulukyas, Gahadavalas, the ruler of Chanderi and other kings. The only king with whom Prithviraja had very friendly relations was the Chitor ruler Samar Simha. In most cases, the account of the Raso is unhistorical, often confusing names, dates, places and events. But in spite of all these defects and inaccuracies, the Raso at least helps us to form an idea about Prithviraja's relations with his neighbours. The loyal vassals of Prithviraja are even said to have been dissatisfied with his policy, and they blamed him for troubles in the Cahamana kingdom.[35] A study of the period shows that the weak Kalacuris under Vijayasimha (1175—1210) could not possibly have sent any help. Apart from the account of the Raso indirectly refers to hostilities between the Cahamana Prithvi- the Vyayoga-Partha-parakrama, according to Dr. Ray, raja and the Caulukya Bhima II (c. 1178—1241). It is also said that the Abu Paramara Dharavarsa, a feudatory of the Caulukyas, "repulsed a nocturnal attack of the king of Jangala."[36] The above evidence confirms the hostile relations between the Caulukyas and the Cahamanas at that time. Thus, in the absence of any help from the Gahadavalas, Candellas, Kalacuris, and the Caulukyas, it can hardly be said that the kings of northern India joined the confederacy of Prithviraja. To conclude in Dr. Ray's words, "It must remain an interesting historical speculation, whether a common front presented by the later Yaminis, Cahamanas, Gahadavalas and the Candellas could have stemmed the advancing tide. But there is no evidence that they realized their danger or that they showed any tendency to combine their forces."[37]

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[34] Proceedings and Transactions of the 4th Oriental Conference, 1926, Vol. II, p. 762.

[35] Raso, Canto LXVI, pp. 385, 387-388, 400-410.

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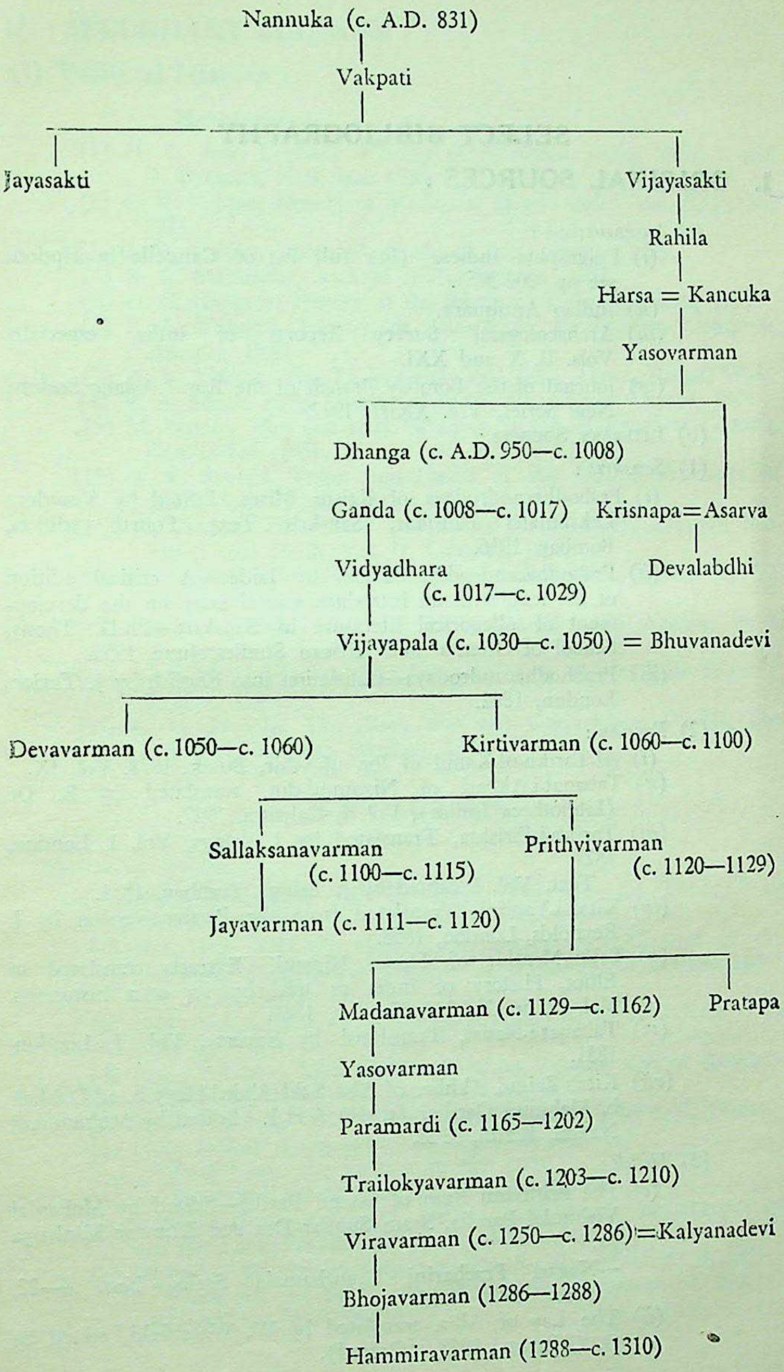
[36] DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 1085-1086; Gaekwad Ornt. series No. IV, 1917, pp. ii, 3. This one-act drama was written by Prahladana, a Paramara prince of Candravati—DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 917-18.

[37] DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 541-542.

CANDELLA GENEALOGY


Nannuka (c. A.D. 831)
Vakpati
Jayasakti
Vijayasakti
Rahila
Harsa = Kancuka
Yasovarman
Dhanga (c. A.D. 950—c. 1008)
Ganda (c. 1008—c. 1017)
Krisnapa=Asarva
Vidyadhara (c. 1017—c. 1029)
Devalabdhi
Vijayapala (c. 1030—c. 1050) = Bhuvanadevi
Devavarman (c. 1050—c. 1060)
Kirtivarman (c. 1060—c. 1100)
Sallaksanavarman (c. 1100—c. 1115)
Prithvivarman (c. 1120—1129)
Jayavarman (c. 1111—c. 1120)
Madanavarman (c. 1129—c. 1162)
Pratapa
Yasovarman
Paramardi (c. 1165—1202)
Trailokyavarman (c. 1203—c. 1210)
Viravarman (c. 1250—c. 1286)=Kalyanadevi
Bhojavarman (1286—1288)
Hammiravarman (1288—c. 1310)

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